



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Cameroon

Prime Minister Hayatou on Domestic Situation

AB2306120891 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in French 1900 GMT 21 Jun 91

[Excerpts] This afternoon was very busy at the National Assembly, where Prime Minister Sadou Hayatou addressed the entire membership at a plenary session. For about one hour, the prime minister discussed the political, economic, and social aspects of national life. His address was marked by a spirit of openness, but also by firmness in respect for national institutions and enforcing peace and social order. It was a speech that dealt with so many political issues and which stressed once again the Hayatou government's major policies. Francois Makmadion has the details:

[Makmadion] Cameroon has its own identity and jealously preserves it. Cameroon did not wait for the Eastern winds to launch its democratization process. That was already well known, but the prime minister was anxious to stress it once again before the entire Assembly, cabinet members, and a large public audience that was listening to the address of Sadou Hayatou, who was in his best mood for a speech. [passage omitted]

The government's conviction in its democratization and liberalization options is so strong that one cannot leave the institutions of the Republic in the hands of miserable revolutionaries bent on destruction and thirsty for blood. There is, therefore, a need for firmness, but also for openness and great attention to the delicate matters of national life: the various meetings, the private press, taxi drivers, and students. The students indeed are young people who have been morally assaulted and abusively diverted from their fundamental objectives by groups with unavowed interests. The university, which is a sacred place where knowledge and wisdom are cultivated, should be kept away from the concerns of politics. Let students study and teachers teach.

It is in this regard that the prime minister assured and reassured the people over and over: The government will take all measures provided by the law to continue guaranteeing the security of property and people so that the Republic lives long and forever. All legal means will be used to ensure the security of people and property. In a firm tone, the prime minister pledged to guarantee to all the conditions for a normal life, thus reasserting the government's determination to seek through dialogue a new legitimacy for the administration and a new social consensus through the ballot. Let us listen to the prime minister:

[Begin Hayatou recording] In any event, the need to seek a new legitimacy for the administration and a new social consensus is compulsory today to successfully carry out our country's economic and financial recovery. In any democracy that deserves the name, elections remain the best way to achieve such an objective. The government

will not permit a policy of clashes, intimidation, commands, ultimatums, terror, and violence as a means of political expression. [applause]

The government will by all legal means ensure the security of people and property and civil peace, which is indispensable to help this country overcome the economic crisis and continue national construction. All steps have been taken to neutralize all those who have deliberately turned their backs on republican values and on the rules of the democratic game and seek to change our great country into a battlefield, to enlist the citizens in their cause, and (?divert) our youth (?from their objectives). [end recording]

After taking stock of the nation's political situation, the prime minister turned to the economic situation. Sadou Hayatou announced that the 1991-1992 budgets will be implemented in a difficult environment, characterized by a slowdown in growth in most of the industrialized countries and by low prices for raw materials. These trends negatively reflect on our public finances, and at the national level, this environment has created an economic situation that continues to be characterized by major difficulties despite the measures that have been taken.

The prime minister announced his battle plan. The government of Sadou Hayatou will focus its efforts on three fronts: first, to reestablish a balanced budget, and in this regard, he will strive to pursue the public finance stabilization policy; second, to revamp the economy by continuing structural reforms; third, to keep public investment at a level in line with the objectives of economic recovery. In all, there is no change in strategy, but a reappraisal of strategy. Like the budget of the previous financial year, the budget for 1991-1992 is also described as a budget of rigor and austerity, but one can note in passing a slight reduction compared with the previous budget. The 1991-1992 budget will actually be balanced to the tune of 545 billion CFA [African Financial Community] francs, which is a reduction of 5 billion CFA francs in absolute value and one percent in relative value.

This shows the government's concern to work within its means. The prime minister stated that the proper implementation of this budget is subject to the implementation of a number of support measures. They are: first, the reduction of allowances affecting the top civil service and state officials. As Sadou Hayatou said, this measure will affect in the first place the members of the Cabinet; the reorganization of the payroll office; a harmonization in retirement ages; revision of the government accommodations policy; introduction of an additional tax to customs duties; abolition of some tax exemptions; as well as establishment of [word indistinct] tax; a reorganization of the taxation system according to salary and living conditions; and improvement in the productivity of the Revenue Service. As can be noted, this is a crash program. The pill seems bitter, but is it not said that

desperate ills call for desperate remedies? The country's economic future depends on this treatment.

The prime minister stressed that the government, better than anyone, recognizes that the problems confronting this country are many. He added, however, that the government cannot allow barbaric methods to be substituted for a normal debate in any democratic country. This is why he said that he was indignant about the frightening and depressing scenes of drugged teenagers who are trained to cause disturbances. Sadou Hayatou found this situation particularly aberrant because it occurs at the very moment that the government has joined the international community in celebrating children's rights and protection. The prime minister promised that he will do everything possible to ensure training and employment for the youths. Let us listen to him:

[Begin Hayatou recording] The government, conscious of the difficulties confronting this youth, will do everything possible to ensure training and employment through a policy resolutely geared toward creating jobs. The National Employment Fund, which is already operational, constitutes one of the privileged instruments of this policy. Furthermore, measures such as the next launching of the industrial free trade zone, the rehabilitation of abandoned projects, the reactivation of the private sector through the system of small- and medium-sized enterprise and small- and medium-size industry or the restructuring of the informal sector will increase employment possibilities in this country.

In conclusion, other gains will be achieved by properly implementing the 1991-1992 budget that is being presented to you: in particular, the payment of the state's arrears, compensating people whose property was expropriated for public use, as well as the payment of debts owed by banks that are being liquidated.

Concerning this last point, I would like to announce to you, ladies and gentlemen, that already more than 6 billion CFA francs are available to help pay the debts owed by banks being liquidated. Payment of these debts will start as early as July 1991. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Makmadion] Other important issues that the prime minister discussed in his speech this afternoon at the National Assembly were education, health, and the infrastructures sector. As the prime minister said, let us go step by step—first, education. An extensive workshop is currently underway to draw up a renovated and more functional educational system. This workshop is aimed at improving the administration of the educational sector, its finances, and school infrastructures to ensure that the Cameroonian child is better trained and educated. For this reason, a delegate conference on education will be held in the forthcoming weeks. This will be followed by a national conference on education and scientific research. [passage omitted]

AFP Reports Opposition Politicians Released

AB2206211691 Paris AFP in English 1415 GMT
22 Jun 91

[Text] Yaounde, June 22 (AFP)—Cameroon police freed nine opposition politicians early Saturday held after they handed a document to the U.S. Consulate reproaching Western nations for their support of President Paul Biya's government. Victorin Hameni Bieleu, president of the Union of Democratic Forces, said that he and eight colleagues from the Coordination of Democratic Opposition (COD) had been detained Friday but not "physically abused" by the police after going to the consulate as part of the COD's "action plan."

Opposition sources had at first reported only two arrests, those of Mr. Hameni Bieleu and of Mboua Massock, secretary general of the Liberal convention, the first leaders of the opposition to be detained since it was legalized this year. Mr. Hameni Bieleu said he did not understand why the police had taken the nine in overnight, since they had already handed similar documents to the French and British Embassies.

The COD text said that any agreement between a foreign government or firm and Cameroon would from June 30 be considered as binding only the ruling People's Democratic Rally (RDPC) [CPDM]. Copies were also due to go to the German, Canadian and Israeli Embassies.

Prime Minister Sadou Hayatou on Wednesday met leaders of eight parties to discuss electoral plans and heard proposals to put off a parliamentary poll scheduled to be held by the end of this year until next March. But the majority of the opposition parties boycotted the meeting, announcing an "action plan" of three weeks of strikes and protests to obtain a national conference on the political future of the West African country. The COD had planned demonstrations for Friday to coincide with the handing in of the document to the U.S. diplomats, but no large-scale gatherings were reported.

In a separate development, reliable sources on Saturday said that Sultan Njimolouh Seidou of Bamoun in northern Cameroon had left the RDPC and gone over to the Cameroon Democratic Union (CDU), founded by one of his nephews. The sultan was one of the country's few traditional chiefs to belong to the ruling party.

* PDC Pushes for National Conference

91AF1111C Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE
in French May 91 pp 127-129

[Article by Jean-Michel Tekam, Secretary General of the Democratic Front of Cameroon (FDC): "How Can We Reach Agreement on a Plan?"]

[Text] The events of these recent weeks—which took place in Yaounde, Douala, and Bafoussam—attest to the extent of popular support for the demand that a national conference be held in Cameroon.

The position of the head of "the party-state," who refuses to hold the conference, reveals a monolithic mentality. To be sure, some political parties have been legalized, but the political police and censorship continue to prevail and therefore prevent pluralism from functioning. Thus the president's real intention is to resist the logic of historical change by making formal adjustments in the status quo.

We have current African history, however, as proof that the national conference is essential to the implementation of a genuine pluralism that is both structural and functional.

The attentive observer of our history, as well as the patriot who is concerned about the future of our nation, regards the national conference as necessary for three reasons:

Political Necessity of the National Conference

To govern is to provide for eventualities. This rule is far from being honored in Yaounde. The foreign observer is struck by the impression that there is an absence of government, a decay of the state. The president appears to be experiencing events rather than anticipating them. The golden rule for our governments is to navigate visually, in order to gain time.

Paul Biya appears more as the hostage of his clique than as the head of the Cameroonian state. To pretend, as he does, that such a round-table conference is pointless because political pluralism has been "authorized" or because Cameroon "is endowed with a Constitution that allows all possible kinds of change" is demagoguery pure and simple. Who other than he has put our basic law on the shelf, not using it except for personal reasons or when he wants to amend it wrongfully? Did he not violate it for the umpteenth time by making an unwarranted distinction between resident Cameroonians and nonresident Cameroonians in his law concerning political parties? His opposition to the conference is therefore merely a new manifestation of his customary anachronistic behavior. Because he does not want to follow the example of the realism of his peers and neighbors, then why does he not initiate a debate within his own party? The national conference is not necessarily a descent into hell for the members of the government, nor would it be the purgatory of the new democrats.

For the new converts to democracy—these very individuals who only yesterday still believed that everything was going well in the best of all worlds in the UNC-RDPC [Cameroonian National Union-Democratic Rally of the Cameroonian People], these opportunists and eleventh-hour opponents—the national conference would merely be the antechamber to the government. These individuals would gladly serve as stooges, as false opponents of "left-wing democracy," in return for a few minor jobs. Certain recent—and spectacular—instances of such sellouts are the product of this approach or are motivated by personal interests and tribal affinities. But these political or personal equations stand out in sharp contrast to the people's

demands—for example, the demand for total and unconditional amnesty, which dates back to the year independence was achieved. At that time it was necessary to restore to the nationalist militants their political and civil rights. Their struggle for democracy is today being revived among young militants who are even more radical.

To be sure, the men now in power intend to hang on to it to the end. Witness the bloody repression of the demonstrations in Yaounde and Douala, the slaughters at Bafoussam and Bamenda and at Garoua and Mbouda, not to mention the death threats in Douala. The dissolution of a hypothetical national conscience under the blows of personal interests has left the clique of speculators now in power insensitive to the threats of civil war.

Indeed, now that they have turned everyone against them, they ought to be the first to see the national conference as their last hope for obtaining national reconciliation.

The Need for National Reconciliation

Cameroon gained its independence amid blood and tears. The murderous confrontations between nationalists and opponents of independence left scars that were all the deeper because the confrontations ended with the formal transfer of power to the latter.

The "putsch" of April 1984 and the settling of scores that ensued provoked other tears in the national fabric. It is no exaggeration to declare that after more than three decades, Cameroon is in a state of civil war, both latent and open. It is obvious that peace is indispensable to the construction of the nation.

The reconciliation conference would make it possible to heal the nation's fabric, which has been torn to shreds by tribalism and the dispersal of the population, and by the marginalization of those patriots who have been sent to prison or into exile. Have not many of them paid with their lives for that freedom that Paul Biya pretends to have granted on his own? Mere measures for the remission of prison terms cannot suffice to wipe out the bitterness and the violations of human rights. Only national reconciliation can prevent the initiation of a cycle of revenge-oriented violence, by permitting all political convictions to coexist freely. It is therefore urgently necessary to organize a round-table conference so as to avoid future confrontations.

Historic Necessity of the National Conference

What kind of Cameroon will be bequeathed to future generations if nothing is done? Will it be a country beset by civil wars in which the thirst for vengeance will win out over brotherhood—a country that will be in debt for many generations? No, not if the people of Cameroon regain possession of their government. They will then make their government the instrument of peace, social justice, and development. Only a period of transition can lead to a genuine change in the system. This operation will entail profound reforms in

certain sectors, and a reshuffling of the political cards. Contrary to the allegations of the head of the party-state, the present Constitution cannot miraculously give birth to a new political chessboard. Construction of the new political landscape must inevitably pass through four stages: total and unconditional amnesty; the installation of an interim government; the establishment of free, fair, and equitable elections; and the establishment of new institutions.

Because the national conference will be open to all the spiritual, economic, and social forces of our country, everyone will come there to build the Cameroonian nation. Thus reconciled, our citizens will learn to live in peace, with respect for one and all. The political organizations will coexist freely, so that they may experience democracy as an instrumentality for development.

Gabon

Bongo Rejects Opposition Call for New Government

AB2206090091 Dakar PANA in English 1150 GMT
21 Jun 91

[Text] Libreville, 21 June (AGP-GAB/PANA)—President Omar Bongo of Gabon has said the demand by

the country's opposition to form a crisis government under their exclusive control was against the spirit of the Constitution.

In an interview with Africa No. 1 Radio, Bongo regretted that some of the opposition parties had rejected his offer to join a government of wider national consensus capable of restoring peace in Gabon.

I wish all of us could work for Gabon. Unfortunately, certain opposition parties thought it wise to reject my appeal, he told the Libreville-based international radio station.

He said the government was planning to take action against demonstrators who were preventing people from going to work.

On Thursday afternoon, the government prevented the Democratic Opposition Coordination (COD) from holding a public meeting in a Libreville stadium, saying the organisers ignored to give the required three-day notice.

Oye-Mba Forms New Cabinet

AB2206134091 Dakar PANA in French 1145 GMT
22 Jun 91

[Text] Libreville, 22 Jun (AGP-GAB/PANA)—The following is the list of the members of the new Gabonese Cabinet, the third cabinet formed by Prime Minister Casimir Oye-Mba since he assumed his functions:

Prime Minister and Head of Government	Casimir Oye-Mba
Minister of Higher Education	Michel Anchouey [formerly minister of state, minister of justice, and keeper of the seals]
Minister of Equipment and Construction	Zacharie Myboto [unchanged]
Minister of Justice and Keeper of the Seals	Mba-Bekale [Gabonese Socialist Union-opposition]
Minister of Labor, Employment, Professional Training, and Human Resources	Simon Oyono-Aba'a (Movement for National Recovery [Morena] opposition) [former minister of decentralization]
Minister of Defense, Security, and Immigration	Martin Fidele Magnaga [unchanged]
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation, and Francophone Affairs	Pascaline Bongo [President Bongo's daughter]
Minister of Territorial Administration, Local Communities, and Decentralization	Antoine Mboumbou-Miyakou
Minister of Small- and Medium-Scale Enterprises and Cottage Industries	Victor Mapangou Moucani Mutsa, (Association for Socialism in Gabon [APSG]) [unchanged]
Minister of State Control and Parastatal Reforms	Jean-Baptiste Obiang-Etoughe (Morena) [unchanged]
Minister of Mines, Energy, and Hydraulic Resources	Hervo Akendengue
Minister of Finance, Budget, and Participation	Paul Toungui [unchanged]
Minister of Agriculture, Livestock, and Rural Development	Eugene Mayaza Kakou [former minister of health and population]
Minister of National Education	Paulette Missambo Moussavou [former minister of civil service and administrative reforms]
Minister of Civil Service and Administrative Reforms	Pierre-Claver Nzeng (APSG) [former minister of youths, sports, arts, and culture]
Minister of Planning, Economy, and Territorial Development	Emmanuel Ondo Methogo [former minister of agriculture, livestock, and rural development]
Minister of Commerce and Industry	Andre Dieudonne Berre (from the private sector) [unchanged]
Minister of Scientific Research, in charge of Human Rights and Relations with the Assemblies	Charles Mefane [former secretary of state at the Ministry of Public Health and Population]
Minister of Transport	Jerome Ngoua Bekale [unchanged]

Minister of Social Affairs and National Solidarity	Patrice Nziengui [unchanged]
Minister of Water and Forestry Resources	Eugene Capito (from the private sector) [unchanged]
Minister of Public Health and Population	Jean-Remy Pendy Bouyiki [former minister of communication, posts and telecommunications and government spokesman]
Minister of Habitat, Lands, and Urban Planning	Adrien Nkoghe Essingone [unchanged]
Minister of Merchant Marine	Joachim Mahots Magouindi [former Secretary of State at the Ministry of Transport]
Minister of Youth, Sports, Arts and Culture	Lazare Digombe [former secretary of state at the Ministry of Habitat, Lands, and Urban Planning]
Minister of Communication, Posts, and Telecommunications and Government Spokesman	Angele Ondo [new]
Minister Delegate to the Ministry of Mines, Energy, and Hydraulic Resources	Charles Mangouka [new]
Secretary of State at the Ministry of Territorial Administration, Local Communities, and Decentralization	Marcel Kiki [former secretary of state at the Ministry of National Education, Higher Education, and Scientific Research, in Charge of National Education]
Secretary of State at the Ministry of Public Health and Population	Lucie Mba [former secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation, and Francophone Affairs]
Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation, and Francophone Affairs	Jean Mindoumbi [former secretary of state at the Ministry of Mines, Energy, and Hydraulic Resources]
Secretary of State at the Ministry of Finance	Faustin Boukoubi [unchanged]
Secretary of State at the Ministry of Transports	Nziengui Koumba [new]
Secretary of State at the Ministry of Agriculture	Max Mebale, (Morena) [former secretary of state at the Ministry of Labor, Professional Training, and Human Resources]
Secretary of State at the Ministry of Equipment	Jean-Marie Beka B'obane (new)
Secretary of State at the Ministry of Labor	Albert Akendengue (new)

Bongo Said Ready To Visit South Africa

MB2106152491 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 21 Jun 91

[Text] President Omar Bongo of Gabon says he is ready to visit South Africa. Interviewed in Libreville, Mr. Bongo said he had not received any invitation, but should President F.W. de Klerk invite him he would gladly go to South Africa.

Mr. Bongo said it was now possible to say that apartheid had disappeared, and once it was abolished in practice, there would be no more problem regarding South Africa. He emphasized that the South African blacks should

settle their disputes and come to a common agreement in order to negotiate with the white government.

With regard to sanctions, President Bongo said he supported the resolution adopted at the Organization of African Unity summit meeting in Abuja earlier this month, and called for a review of such measures if the situation in South Africa merited it. He said if all the conditions laid down by the international community were met by South Africa, then sanctions would no longer be justified.

President Bongo said there was no reason for Gabon not to have diplomatic relations with South Africa once apartheid was truly dismantled.

Ethiopia

EPLF Statement on Eritrean 'Martyrs Day'

EA2206161091 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 20 Jun 91

["Text" of statement issued by the EPLF on 19 June; place not given]

[Excerpts] Tomorrow, 20 June 1991, is the day of the Eritrean martyrs. This day is to be commemorated and remembered annually as of this year to show the love and respect we have for our martyrs. The speech of the general secretary of the EPLF, Comrade Isayas Afewerki, to the whole nation and the military parade that is going to take place in Asmera was set to coincide with this honorable day. Tomorrow morning, there will be a gun salute in honor of the Eritrean martyrs. All government offices, workshops, and shops will be closed the whole day, as during any other celebrations.

The reason why this day was chosen to be the day of the Eritrean martyrs is because it marks the end of the great sacrifices we made during the Red Star Campaign. The great sacrifices we made by then had weakened the enemy's strength, which was at its peak, and managed to change the military balance with the enemy, thereby changing the whole situation to our favor. [passage omitted] The offensive lasted from mid-February 1982 until June. During the four months of bitter struggle, the EPLF contained and crushed the offensive in a heroic and determined spirit by making great sacrifices. The enemy's strength then started to deteriorate and at last, this May, the enemy force was forced to leave Eritrea, totally defeated. That is the reason we chose 20 June to be our martyrs day, because it is the end of our bitter struggle. All our martyrs will live in our memory for ever. Victory to the masses!

People's 'Sacrifices' Viewed

EA2106125891 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 1607 GMT 20 Jun 91

[Speech by Eritrean People's Liberation Front Secretary General Isayas Afewerki on Eritrean Martyrs Day; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear parents, dear brothers and sisters, dear guests: It is my immense pleasure to be with you to congratulate you again on behalf of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] on the auspicious week of the heroic Eritrean people and their friends which seems like a dream rather than reality.

Ladies and gentlemen, before going to the major topic of my address I request your permission to deal with the major point that needs attention. The event we are celebrating which has brought joy and relief to the Eritrean people is the result of unparalleled noble sacrifices. Great thanks and praise go to the more than 50,000

martyrs who gallantly sacrificed their lives, the thousands who have been gunned down or strangled in prisons and [words indistinct], tens of thousands of citizens killed by colonial policemen, and to those tens of thousands of living heroes whose bodies are maimed.

I would like to take this opportunity to urge the Eritrean people to put up monuments to their heroic martyrs at the national level, in all villages, and within every family, and to remember them, consider martyrs day as a national holiday, and to make it their responsibility to take care of the families and children of the martyrs. Though we give priority attention to our martyrs, the sacrifices made by our displaced and exiled citizens because of the atrocities of Ethiopian colonialism are also great. We should make a spiritual promise to keep the values and taste of this great joy of victory in the minds of every citizen and generations to come and to build our [word indistinct].

Ladies and gentlemen, though the Eritrean people were faced with continuous and great challenges, they fought for 40 years the illegal rule imposed against their will. Through 30 years of bitter armed struggle they managed to get rid of the yoke of colonialism, ensure their freedom, and open a new historical chapter. Because it is a must to have a transitional period before starting the new chapter, the EPLF has declared an interim government to fulfill and end its mission.

I ask your permission to let me detail briefly the major priorities toward this end. Though the Eritrean people have expressed in their decisive struggle their right to self-determination, the work of legalizing it cannot be left aside. In view of this fact, the EPLF has made one of its priorities the finalization of the decree passed 10 years ago in 1980 through a referendum. The objective of the transitional period is to carry out the necessary preparation and activities toward this end, and to maintain peace, stability, and democracy in Ethiopia.

To contribute to our region's peace and stability, it has been decided that the referendum should be implemented within two years. Within these two years, the EPLF has taken as its additional and historical responsibility to ensure that the process is not hindered, and that the liberation which was achieved through great sacrifices should be preserved by making every effort and protection toward this end.

Ladies and gentlemen, among the issues of most concern is the destruction of our economic and cultural developments, the displacement of our people and [word indistinct] (?weak) and the retardation of our development in the past years of our bitter liberation struggle due to the acts of the barbarous colonial systems and policies. As if the destruction caused by colonialism were not enough, drought and other natural calamities intensified the sufferings of our people.

Though the manpower, activity, and time needed to rectify this double destruction cannot be evaluated easily, the EPLF has decided on a major mission of

carrying out this (?reconstruction) activity without laxity. Among the major activities are: To expand and strengthen the already existing agricultural development plans; to enable factories and industries to produce useful products; to rehabilitate roads, build new ones and expand their capacity; to establish and expand land, sea, and air transport; to produce consumer commodities reliably and at an acceptable price in order to expand internal and external trade activities; to use the natural resources from the land and the sea properly for the peace and development of the people; to rehabilitate water and electricity services, expand new ones, and supply these to the people in a reliable and reasonable manner; to open schools and expand services that would give a balanced dissemination of knowledge; to get rid of ignorance and backwardness; to ensure the civilization of our country by improving the quality of education; to ensure that health services are provided to all, and to expand and develop these services.

One of the major activities mentioned will be to pave the foundations for the Eritrean people to build free and democratic institutions by completely eradicating all those attempts by colonial rulers which aimed to destroy the identity of the Eritrean people.

Ladies and gentlemen, as I mentioned earlier, all these primary and decisive activities planned by the EPLF demand great efforts, expertise, materials, finance, and enough time. If there is the will and the strength, then it is possible to achieve this. Before the Eritrean people, who have proved their love for decisiveness and activity, lies the great task of achieving these crucial issues. The readiness of the people inside the country toward this end; the need for those in exile in various countries to return to their country to participate in the rebuilding of their country; the need for professionals and scholars inside and outside the country to carry out their major share toward this end; the need for wealthy patriots to participate with their wealth; and, in general, the need for every citizen to participate according to their ability, and to show closer participation, is a decisive national obligation.

The EPLF has made its first priority in its rebuilding plans to encourage relief activities, aid the ability of our people which has been weakened by war and drought to rehabilitate our people in exile so that they can start their new lives, and to enable them to develop their productivity. Though the interests and aspirations of the Eritrean people are basic and decisive, there are limits to fulfilling all these plans, and because the support and participation of external (?bodies) cannot be looked at lightly, the EPLF will make every possible effort to obtain every possible assistance from the international community.

Ladies and gentlemen, the sufferings of the Eritrean people were not the making of colonial forces alone. It is a fact that there were citizens who wronged their country and people. The struggle the EPLF was carrying out with the Eritrean people was not based on revenge but on the

interest of the people and their liberation; therefore, at a time when the EPLF and the Eritrean people have won the battle against their enemies and emerged victorious, it is natural for them to forgive their brothers and sisters who had wronged them. Based on this spirit, the EPLF takes it as its own responsibility to call upon all citizens—apart from those few who had committed great crimes, who had embezzled funds, and who will be legally charged—be it those who have been confused in the name of organizations and for other reasons, to participate in the rebuilding of the country without fear.

Now that organizations are not carrying out unrest, the carrying out of covert or overt divisive activities against the people would be considered a great crime. Similarly, apart from those who will be charged with murder, looting, and mismanagement, all those traitors who collaborated with the colonial rulers in various ways have been amnestied, and all doors are open for them to come and participate in the social life of the nation. It must not be forgotten that lenient measures will be taken against those (?in the opposition). [sentence as heard]

Ladies and gentlemen, even though the hatred between the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples has been bitter due to the Ethiopian colonialist and expansionist systems, this hatred and bitterness has ended with the downfall of those systems. There is now no hatred between the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples. There will be no hatred between the Eritrean interim government and the Ethiopian transitional government. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] will work hand-in-hand with the Ethiopian people and the transitional government in Ethiopia in a good-neighborly manner for the sake of the development of mutual and comprehensive cooperation.

As the peace, stability, and development of the Ethiopian people is the wish of the Eritrean people, Aseb Port will be open for the economic life and activity of Ethiopia. There will be wide-ranging cooperation in the interests of various social and economic sectors. Efforts will be made for cooperation in attaining collective security. It should not be forgotten that there should be a spirit of mutual activity in attaining peace and cooperation.

Based on these objectives, the EPLF will take part in the proposed conference to be held 1 July.

The Eritrean interim government will make every effort to establish relationships with all its neighboring countries on the basis of good-neighborliness and respect for mutual interests, and for better cooperation. In particular, there will be wide-ranging cooperation with Sudan by further strengthening the longstanding and outstanding human relationships and mutual cooperation in various sectors.

I express the hope that the international community will bless the liberation of the Eritrean people, compensate them for their efforts, and contribute its share to our

country's reconstruction. Once again I congratulate the Eritrean people. Eternal honor and remembrance to our martyrs.

Victory to the broad masses.

EPLF Reopens Aseb Port to Relief Ship

EA2206092291 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 21 Jun 91

[Excerpt] Yesterday, the first ship docked in Aseb since the port was captured by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF]. The 175.45-meter-long (name indistinct) ship docked at Aseb Port with relief supplies for famine victims from humanitarian organizations amounting to more than 180,000 quintals of wheat. [passage omitted]

Kenya

Moi on Security, Dissidents at KANU Conference

EA2206131191 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1158 GMT 21 Jun 91

[Relay of address by President Daniel arap Moi to the delegates' conference of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) at Kasarani, Nairobi; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] With regard to peace and stability, I am extremely grateful to Kenyans for the support they have given me in the preservation of peace and maintenance of stability. Today Kenya is an island of peace in this part of the world. [applause]

However, there are those in our midst who have allowed personal interests to supersede the national interest. I shall not allow this to interfere with the good management of affairs in our country for the benefit of a wider public. I will always apply the law in the full in order to protect your interests—that is, whenever I have investigated and come to the conclusion that the security of the state and the interests of Kenyans are no longer threatened, I have taken appropriate actions in accordance to the law of the land. [applause] To that extent Kenya can take pride as a country with no political detainees today. [applause]

But, my fellow delegates, I have to make it abundantly clear that as leader of this nation, I will continue to defend to the best of my ability the interests of the people of this country and the institutions which have been set to protect those interests. Let it be known that I will go to any length provided in law for the sake of the security and the welfare of Kenyans to dismantle any scheme which may be hatched to destabilize this nation. [applause]

It makes no difference who the perpetrators of these heinous acts are or under what guise they operate. It makes no difference how well financed they may be or

who their paymasters are, nor how high-sounding their rhetoric may be. When it comes to the defense of the interests of this nation and the protection of the lives and the properties of her people, I shall act firmly and decisively. [applause] In this respect, it is disturbing to see the kind of sinister campaign being waged by a small power-hungry clique to undermine the sacred institutions of this country. Those who shout at the top of their voices about the rule of law and judicial procedures are now the ones hurling public abuses at the judiciary and flouting court rulings with impunity.

We are obviously not dealing here with people genuinely interested in the welfare of the ordinary wananchi [citizen] in this nation. We are dealing with people whose main agenda is to seize political power by unlawful and violent means. It suits their sinister purpose to shout at the top of their voices about anything. They will shout about it, but we are prepared for their strategy, which includes the use of unconstitutional means, fanning of communal hatred, and disaffection against the government. The people of this nation, you, the leaders of the party, and the government must be prepared to rebuff this challenge conclusively. [applause]

Fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, of late there has been much talk about the need for change. From what we have been doing it should be obvious to everyone that we care and will accommodate any change so long as it is in the interests of our people. But only we Kenyans can determine what is in our interests. [applause] Yes, Kenyans only, and those who are in the minority who do not agree with the majority must learn to accept what the majority has decided, for after all that is what democracy is all about.

There is nothing more tragic than what is happening in some parts of Africa today where inability to agree upon this simple principle has brought about untold misery and even death to millions of people. Today, our country is a haven to thousands of refugees from other lands where certain strifes based on ethnic differences and fuelled by sinister external forces has created conditions intolerable to normal lives. We in KANU are determined to avoid the situation that could lead this country into the kind of chaos that now prevails in some parts of our continent. We shall succeed in this task because we have the will, we have the resources, and above all, we have the vast majority of the people of this nation behind us in our commitment to peace and stability.

My fellow delegates, we are all currently engaged in the membership recruitment drive for the party. Many of the new members we are recruiting to KANU are young people. Their aspirations and concerns are not necessarily similar to those of the older generation. We have invested a great deal in the education of our children, but they look to us for guidance in word and deed. We may recruit them into the party, but we will not retain them as loyal and active members of the party unless we show by concrete example that we are self-disciplined. We must adhere to the party rules, which we want them to follow.

Our public pronouncements must always be responsible and encouraging to our youth so that they will be best prepared to positions of leadership within the party and the country when their time comes.

We have one party in Kenya. That is the wish of our people for the time being. [applause] While we have only one party in this country, we, the leaders of the party, must learn to endear ourselves to the people. We do so by serving the people the way they want us to serve them and in accordance with the rules and regulations of the party by ensuring that our public institutions remain accountable to the people. In a very special way, the party is an umbrella for the government. It is one way of making sure that the government is accountable to the people, and we as a party do so by always remaining an open institution, an institution that continues to give the people of this country an opportunity to participate in the making of decisions that affect their lives, for it is only in this way that the party's programs and policies can continue to represent the will of the people. Thank you. [applause]

Last Detainee Odinga Released

EA2106225091 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1400 GMT 21 Jun 91

[Text] KANU delegates today unanimously supported President Daniel arap Moi's suggestion that the nomination exercise during general elections be abolished. The delegates also adopted President Moi's suggestion that all candidates who qualify by law to contest [elections] be allowed to do so regardless of their number. President Moi told the delegates that nobody should imagine that KANU was blocking anybody from leadership. President Moi explained that the earlier suggestions that nomination be done before the main election was to get candidates who commanded the majority votes in every constituency.

His Excellency, the president, said that KANU, being the voice of the people, was carrying out its activities in the most democratic manner possible while at the same time ensuring that peace continued to prevail in the country.

President Moi was addressing the nation from Moi International Sports Center, Kasarani [in Nairobi], where he chaired the KANU delegates conference.

President Moi said that Kenya can take pride as a country with no political detainee. President Moi had earlier released the only political detainee in the country, Raila Odinga.

The president at the same time criticized the NATION and THE STANDARD for their lack of patriotism and their attitudes aimed at destabilizing the country. He said that the two newspapers were not serving the interest of Kenyans and wondered why they wanted instability in the country when they represented foreign investors.

President Moi also told [the] KANU leadership not to discuss party policy any howly [as heard] and instead leave [it] to the headquarters so that the public may not

be misled. President Moi pointed out that Kenya can accommodate change as long as it is in the interest of her people. President Moi noted that of late there has been much talk about the need for change. However, he said, this change must be determined by the interests of the majority of Kenyans.

He said the minority who did not agree with the majority must learn to accept what the majority has decided as this was the basis of democracy. He said the inability to agree upon this simple principle has brought about untold misery and even death to millions of people in some parts of Africa.

President Moi said thousands of refugees are pouring into Kenya from other countries where civil strife fueled by external forces has created conditions intolerable to normal life. He said KANU was determined to avoid such a situation, adding that the vast majority of Kenyans were behind the party in the commitment to peace and stability. President Moi also thanked Kenyans for their support in the preservation of peace and maintenance of stability which has made Kenya an island of peace.

His Excellency, the president, noted that he will go to any length provided in law to dismantle any scheme which may be hatched to destabilize this nation or threaten the security and welfare of the people. He said in the midst of peace-loving Kenyans there were those who have allowed personal interests to supersede the national interests. The president said it was disturbing to see the kind of sinister campaign being waged by a small-power hungry clique to undermine sacred institutions of this country. President Moi said that those who shout at the top of their voices about the rule of law in judicial procedures are now the ones hurling public abuses at the judiciary and flouting court rulings with impunity. He said that such people who did not have the welfare of the ordinary wananchi [citizen] at heart were motivated by a lust to seize political power through unlawful and violent means. The president said the government, KANU leaders, and wananchi must be prepared to rebuff those fanning communal hatred and disaffection against the government.

This is the first KANU delegates' conference to be held this year. The last one was held in December last year at the same place to discuss and adopt the KANU review committee report and its recommendations. President Moi noted that some of the recommendations of the report had already been implemented. He gave the example of the recent by-elections held in various parts of the country which, he said, were held in compliance with the committee's proposed changes concerning the party's election nomination procedures. President Moi said that in other areas the government had moved with speed to address those issues which the party deliberated upon but were not within its competence for action.

He said certain legislative initiations had been taken in respect of strengthening the judiciary and rule of law in this country. The president said he was happy that the

report on employment will soon be deliberated upon by parliament and called on parliamentarians to give serious thoughts and offer suggestions on the best way to implement it. He said the most important aspect was that the government had embarked on a serious restructuring of the parastatals as part of a whole strategy to sustain the tempo of the country's development. However, he said, such a task will require support from everyone for its success.

His Excellency, the president, said Kenya was passing through trying economic times just like other Third World countries because the world was in a serious recession. However, he said, it is Kenyans themselves who must devise meaningful solutions to these problems and continue to be responsible for their own destiny. President Moi told the delegates that when they return to their respective areas, to assist the people to continue contributing towards the country's economy and development as a whole.

Also present at the conference were the vice-president and minister for finance, Professor George Saitoti, KANU national leaders, Cabinet ministers and the head of the public service and secretary to the Cabinet, Mr. Joseph arap Leting.

President Commends De Klerk, Appeals to ANC

EA1906162691 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 18 Jun 91

[Text] His Excellency, President Daniel arap Moi, today expressed his satisfaction with the repeal of the foundations of apartheid in South Africa. In a statement issued

from State House, Nairobi, President Moi said he was happy this had happened as a result of his lengthy discussions with President Frederik de Klerk during his recent visit to Kenya.

President Moi commended President de Klerk for acting so expeditiously in abolishing apartheid. At the same time, President Moi said it was now up to the African National Congress, ANC, to generate confidence among all races of South Africa and create the right climate for achieving a non-racial democratic South Africa.

Foreign Ministry on 'Free Travel' to RSA

EA2206122891 Nairobi KNA in English 1606 GMT 21 Jun 91

[Text] Nairobi, 21 June (KNA)—Kenya welcomes the important step taken by the Government of South Africa [RSA] in dismantling apartheid, a move which has made it faster for Kenyans and South Africans to visit each other's country. A press statement issued in Nairobi today by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation further said that Kenya has taken note of the recent report of the International Olympic Committee on sporting links with South Africa and awaits its final decision before reviewing its stands on these links with South Africa. Given the fact that there is now free travel between the two countries, some individual sportsmen and women may take advantage of this opportunity, the statement added.

Pik Botha, Mandela on U.S. Sanctions, Funding

*MB2106160291 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1545 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] Foreign Minister Pik Botha has commented on the latest moves to ease sanctions against South Africa. Mr. Botha told our parliamentary news staff in Cape Town that of late the United States had slipped behind in its relations with South Africa, compared with the rest of the world.

[Begin Botha recording] I think Europe is ahead of the United States of America. Japan is beginning to catch up with the United States. So you have, as far as the lifting of sanctions are concerned, you have three mainstreams affecting South Africa, because of the importance of the countries, of the alliances of countries concerned. The twelve Europeans have already abandoned and withdrew the 1986 sanctions. The United States is in the process of doing so, in my opinion. [end recording]

Mr. Botha also said today that it was clear that an organization such as the ANC [African National Congress], which has 50 percent of its executive committee members also serving on the South African Communist Party [SACP], should be regarded as an associate member of the SACP.

Earlier, the U.S. House of Representatives voted not to give money to organizations with communist ties.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela today described the U.S. moves as a sensitive issue. He told our political news staff in Johannesburg that the ANC would stay in touch with members of the House of Representatives in Washington, and other opinion makers in the United States, on the question of funding.

ANC Responds to US SACP Funding Denial

*MB2106154091 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1500 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] The American House of Representatives has voted overwhelmingly in favor of a measure that will deny financial aid to the South African Communist Party [SACP] or any organization that is affiliated to, or associated with the party. The measure was approved by 297 to 134 votes.

Political observers say this is a heavy blow to the African National Congress [ANC] which cooperates closely with the SACP. The measure forms part of the \$25.3 billion Foreign Aid Bill, which has been referred to the United States Senate. The amendment barring aid to the Communist Party was introduced by two conservative members of the Republican Party. It will freeze \$10 million that was earmarked for the ANC and other organizations in South Africa more than a year ago.

Reacting to the amendment, the ANC said it would not influence the organization to abandon its partners in an alliance. The organization told our political news staff in

Johannesburg that the amendment was not in line with the realities in South Africa, and that these realities would determine who its allies were.

Mandela on Organization's Problems, Prospects

*MB2106164691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1622 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] Johannesburg June 21 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] was taking steps to correct problems of accountability in the tripartite anti-apartheid alliance, ANC President [title as received] Mr Nelson Mandela said on Friday. Despite shortcomings relating to consultations and report backs in the alliance, Mr Mandela said the ANC negotiating team "remained firm".

Speaking at the Third National Congress of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA [South Africa] (NUMSA), the ANC deputy president said he was addressing the unionists as "society's most organised force".

The role of the Congress of SA [South African] Trade Unions in the alliance with the SA Communist Party and ANC is expected to come under fire at the NUMSA congress. Trade unionists have argued the alliance has introduced areas of negotiation, which have received a mandate from its constituent organisations [sentence as received].

Complaints have also been levied about the lack of sufficient report backs on the ANC's negotiations with government. Mr Mandela said his organisation had resisted all government attempts to force it to abolish mass action, but "the mix of discussion and mass action has not always been right".

The ANC was exercising a degree of caution as it did not want to increase the hardship of people nor give employers the excuse for more retrenchments.

The organisation was also battling to establish itself as a legal entity after 30 years of illegality. "We have been engaging in discussions with government and trying to organise campaigns of mass action...trying to merge different styles of leadership and methods and incorporating our various components into a unified force. (But) it would be foolish to suggest that we have managed this process with total success—indeed, it would have been a miracle if we did," said Mr Mandela.

"Sometimes, we have not been as thorough in our consultations within the tripartite alliance as we should have been, and report backs have not been systematic." This was partly because the ANC machinery was not as efficient as it could be, and because of the speed of events. "Corrective measures are being taken on both these counts," Mr Mandela told the 1,120 NUMSA delegates at NASREC, south-west of Johannesburg.

Mass Action To Remain Major Component*MB2106165491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1648 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] Johannesburg June 21 SAPA—Mass action would remain a major component of African National Congress [ANC] strategies for the democratic election of a constituent assembly, ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela said on Friday.

Inasmuch as the ANC had shifted to armed struggle when rebuffed by the government, the organisation would use mass action to back up demands tabled during negotiations, said Mr Mandela.

He was addressing the Third National Congress in Johannesburg of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA [South Africa] (NUMSA) on behalf of the tripartite anti-apartheid alliance.

Mr Mandela said the destruction of apartheid and the building of a democratic South Africa remained the top priority for the tripartite alliance.

Propagandists had "trumpeted" the end of apartheid with the repeal of remaining racist laws by the end of June, but the basic law, which denied Africans the vote and reserved political power for a white minority, remained in place.

Delegates at the ANC's July conference would deal with how to destroy apartheid and who was most capable of achieving this.

Mr Mandela, who addressed the NUMSA congress on the theme of "destroying apartheid and building democracy for socialism", was enthusiastically received by some 1,025 delegates in the NASREC hall.

Chris Hani Reaffirms ANC Commitment to Democracy*MB2106065891 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0600 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] Hopes for a multiparty democratic future for South Africa have been boosted following an ANC [African National Congress] meeting in Pietermaritzburg at which top officials stated their policies.

Speaking last night Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] Chief of Staff Chris Hani reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to democracy and regular elections but he emphasized the policy differences between the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party.

Hani says the ANC has tried its best to persuade, as he put it, its brothers and sisters in Inkatha to join forces in a patriotic front against apartheid.

He says the problem is that Inkatha is against everything the ANC stands for and opposes its policies without making alternative suggestions.

ANC Admits Masterminding 'Vula' Armed Plot*MB2206115291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0949 GMT 22 Jun 91*

[By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg June 22 SAPA—The African National Congress [African National Congress] on Saturday acknowledged for the first time it had masterminded what the authorities charged was a Communist Party plot to wage armed rebellion if constitutional talks collapsed.

The ANC timed the acknowledgment with the first public appearance of key figures in "Operation Vula"—which was smashed by the police last year—shortly after they were granted immunity from prosecution.

The 11 activists emerged from hiding on Saturday and were presented to the press at a news conference at ANC leader Nelson Mandela's Soweto home.

"All these and many others comrades associated with Vulindlela (Operation Vula) and the underground in general were acting on the instructions of the ANC," ANC Secretary General Mr Alfred Nzo said, reading a statement on behalf of Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela, pressed by a journalist, declined to comment on the forthcoming national conference of the ANC and deflected questions on the political future of his firebrand wife Winnie, saying only the organisation could comment.

Mrs Mandela is free pending her appeal next month against her conviction on kidnapping and assault charges. A judge imposed a six-year jail term after she was found guilty.

"Vulindlela was part of a series of missions, carefully planned and with the fullest regard for the immense risk involved. It was not a knee-jerk reaction, nor was it a quick-fix solution. It was conceived and planned for in terms of the long-term strategy for the movement," Mr Mandela said of the operation planned in 1986.

The operation, involving infiltration by ANC military commanders and arms into the country and the establishment of underground structures in Durban, was smashed by the police in July.

They arrested key figures including former ANC National Executive member Mac Maharaj and several others, but the ANC combat wing chief of intelligence, Ronnie Kasrils went underground. Both Mr Maharaj and Mr Kasrils are also senior members of the SACP [South African Communist Party] who were recently granted indemnity. Both men were present at Saturday's conference.

The ANC on Saturday presented to the press the 11 activists, who included Jeremy Seeber, Ms Janet Love, both former students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Ivan Pillay, a student at the University of

Durban Westville, Mr Jabu Sithole, a community leader and Mr Charles Ngakula, a trade unionist.

Government claims of the red plot triggered a row which threatened crucial talks between the ANC and the government. The dispute developed over the presence of Communist Party chief Joe Slovo, but the two sides overcame the hurdle.

Constitutional talks have been held up on charges the government has not freed all political prisoners and over thousands of exiles unable to return for fear of arrest under the limited indemnity.

"For more than two years the government and its security forces had no inkling of its (Vula's) existence; had not detected that members of the leadership were living and working inside the country," Mr Mandela said.

ANC Reportedly To Maintain Current Leadership

*MB2406053891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2128 GMT 23 Jun 91*

[By John Grobler]

[Text] Johannesburg June 23 SAPA—The results of the weekend's African National Congress [ANC] PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] regional conference would not be released until the ANC's national preparatory committee was notified, regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa told SAPA on Sunday [23 June] night.

Two hundred delegates from the PWV region met in Johannesburg on Saturday and Sunday to elect nominees for the ANC's National Executive Committee [NEC]. Hundreds of delegates from the ANC's 14 regions countrywide will vote for a new enlarged NEC in Durban next weekend, at the organisations's first national conference inside South Africa for 30 years.

According to senior sources within the ANC, the organisation's current leadership would be retained as the "best measure" of maintaining unity within the ANC. "The ANC has to put up a unified front at the conference, because any overt power struggle at the conference would delay negotiations," a senior ANC official said on Sunday. He spoke to SAPA on condition of anonymity. "There is considerable pressure from other regions to start constitutional negotiations as soon as possible," he added.

The ANC Border region issued a statement earlier on Sunday, which according to observers, indicated a desire for the negotiation process to start after the Durban conference. The Border regional executive committee nominated ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela as ANC President, with Mr Walter Sisulu as his deputy, and the Reverend Arnold Stofile as secretary general.

Mr Mamoepa, speaking after the PWV conference ended on Sunday night, said that "all deliberations were guided by the need to merge all the strands within the ANC, namely the underground, all exiles, the Mass Democratic Movement and those from prison".

"Above all, decisions taken reflect the need for a National Executive Committee that will ensure the transfer of power to the people."

According to reports emanating from within the PWV regional conference, there were indications that a majority of the 200 delegates had voted to retain Oliver Tambo as ANC president.

ANC 'Disturbed' Over Kenyan Diplomatic Steps

*MB2006122291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1200 GMT 20 Jun 91*

[Text] Windhoek June 20 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] is "disturbed" and "unhappy" about Kenya's moves towards normalising some ties with South Africa, ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu said in Windhoek on Thursday. "We are not only disturbed, we regard ourselves so much as one family and we expect to move together," he told a media briefing at state house. "When Kenya takes steps contrary to other states, it must disturb us. "We are unhappy that Kenya is planning to take the steps which it is proposing," he said.

The ANC's sports policy was to unite South Africans "and we are busy with that".

Mr Sisulu said there had been no irreversible changes in South Africa yet which permitted the ANC to consider the lifting of certain sanctions. "The mere removal of the Group Areas (Act) does not justify the lifting of sanctions."

Mr Sisulu said the ANC was "not quite happy" about a step taken by the United States regarding sanctions but America had promised to exchange views on future steps. "We hope the European Economic Community will do likewise. And my understanding is that they consider the question of consultation on every step they take," he said.

PLO's Arafat Invited to ANC Conference

*MB2206195891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1939 GMT 22 Jun 91*

[Text] Johannesburg June 22 SAPA—Palestinian Liberation Organisation supremo Yasir 'Arafat has been invited to attend the ANC [African National Congress] National Conference to be held in Durban in July, according to a report in the SUNDAY STAR.

The newspaper attributed confirmation of the invitation to "senior ANC officials in Johannesburg", but did not name them.

It was also stated that Mr. 'Arafat has accepted the invitation. The SUNDAY STAR reported that the PLO has confirmed it would be sending a three-man delegation, but had insisted that Mr. 'Arafat was not leading it.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the guest list for the conference would be made public next week.

The SUNDAY STAR reported that, in addition to Mr. 'Arafat, several other leading political figures were due to attend the ANC meeting. These included former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Foreign Minister on 'Coup Attempt' in Mozambique

*MB2106171891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1713 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] Upington June 21 SAPA—South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha on Friday night confirmed he had been briefed about reports of a coup threat in Mozambique.

Mr. Botha, in a statement from Upington in the northern Cape, said: "The deputy director general of foreign affairs, Mr. Rusty Evans, met with President Chissano in Maputo today (Friday) and discussed the peace process in Mozambique at length."

At this meeting, the Mozambiquan leader informed Mr. Evans "about reports of a coup threat, but said any threat will be dealt with effectively." "Maputo is calm with no visible evidence of increased security activity. President Chissano did not request any assistance from South Africa." The statement did not provide any details about the source of the alleged threat against the Mozambican Government.

Anti-Violence Committee Defines Tasks, Issues

*MB2206204091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2000 GMT 22 Jun 91*

[By Clyde Russell]

[Text] Johannesburg June 22 SAPA—A "preparatory committee" to work for an end to South Africa's violence was formed at Saturday's high-profile peace summit in Sandton.

A statement released after the marathon meeting said the new committee was made up of the present Facilitating Committee and nine other members, three each from the government, the ANC [African National Congress] and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP].

"The task of this preparatory committee will be to consider and draft proposals in working groups on issues identified as being necessary to end violence and bring peace," the statement said.

The key issues identified at Saturday's summit, held at the headquarters of the Barlow Rand Group, include the establishment of codes of conduct for political organisations and the security forces; socio-economic development and reconstruction; and enforcement mechanisms such as a "statutory standing commission and peace secretariats at national, regional and community levels".

"Finally, the preparatory committee will consult with other relevant parties and organisations not represented

at today's meeting, with a view to convening an inclusive forum at which binding agreements would result, as soon as practically possible."

The statement added that the new committee will report on its progress "by the first week of August to the relevant parties".

Facilitating Committee spokesman Val Pauquet told SAPA that it had not yet been decided who would represent the various parties on the new committee. "That will be decided at another meeting, we are not sure when that meeting will be held," Ms Pauquet said.

Saturday's meeting gathered together all the major political players in South Africa, excepting those from the rightwing.

The government was represented by the deputy minister of constitutional development, Mr Roelf Meyer, and his law and order counterpart Mr Johan Scheepers.

The ANC sent its international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and although Mr Joe Slovo of the SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP] did not attend, three of his senior lieutenants did.

The PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] Benny Alexander also did not make the conference, but three PAC officials did attend, including Information Director Barney Desai. Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] was also represented at the indaba [meeting].

The IFP was represented by senior officials Walter Felgate and Suzanne Vos. Most of the parliamentary parties in all three houses were present, with the obvious exception of the Conservative Party. Other rightwing groups boycotted the talks, but this had been expected.

In addition to the political figures, several trade unions attended and senior church leaders, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu were also at the conference. The voice of business was put forward by Raymond Parsons of the South African Chamber of Business.

Saturday's initiative was in stark contrast to the May peace summit convened by the government. That summit was boycotted by the ANC, PAC, AZAPO and the SACP, however, various rightwing groupings did attend.

CP Reportedly 'Close' To Armed Struggle

*MB2306133491 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 23 Jun 91 pp 4*

[Report by David Breier, political correspondent: "CP (Conservative Party) Close to Armed Struggle"]

[Text] The Conservative Party is moving steadily closer to launching an armed struggle against President F.W. de Klerk's government if a white election is not called.

This week the CP made various preparatory moves laying the groundwork for a possible future decision to opt for violence.

While the CP is at this stage still opposed to the use of violence, sources said the option was becoming an increasingly realistic strategy.

Developments included:

—A detailed statement by CP General Secretary Andries Beyers on the precise stage at which the CP would consider it has a moral basis to begin an armed struggle.

After a careful analysis of various scenarios, Mr Beyers defines the stage when an armed struggle becomes morally justified as the moment the Government denies the whites another general election.

This would give the CP "a moral basis" for an armed struggle against the Government. Such an armed struggle could take weeks, months, years or even decades.

"There is only one way the Government can ward off growing white violence, and that is to call a white general election," he said.

"If the Government does this, violence as a negotiation method will be eliminated from white politics."

His statement was made at a closed CP meeting in Wartburg in Natal, but was used by the CP mouthpiece PATRIOT as its main front-page report this week under the heading: "Whites Will Take Up Arms".

—In a second major development which has almost gone unnoticed, the CP has supported those provisions of the Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Bill which drastically water down detention-without-trial.

CP Justice Spokesman Chris de Jager spelt out the reasons in Parliament—namely, that detention was now being used against rightwingers.

Section 29 of the Internal Security Act now makes provision only for 10 days of detention after which a judge has to authorise further detention.

In addition, the courts are given the power to adjudicate on any Government decision to ban a political organisation.

CP sources told the SUNDAY STAR that if the party opted for violence it would enjoy the benefit of these reforms.

—And, in a third development, the white rightwing, including the CP, became the only significant political force to boycott the peace discussions being held in Sandton this weekend.

It is being attended by every other group including Azapo [Azanian People's Organization], the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and the ANC [African National Congress] which boycotted last month's peace summit attended by the Government and Inkatha.

This is being seen not only as part of the CP's refusal to talk to the ANC, but also as a subtle warning on the CP's seriousness about beginning an armed struggle if no white election is called.

It is understood the CP has been taking close note of how various armed struggles throughout the world have helped to legitimise various ethnic causes—including the PLO in Israel and the Sikhs in India—as well as the ANC in South Africa.

They have also noted that oppressed minorities such as the Kurds received virtually no world attention while they were acquiescent but only received massive support after they rose up against Saddam Husayn in the Gulf War.

The CP believes whites in general, and Afrikaners in particular, are heading towards an embattled minority status in the new South Africa and a white homeland is the only solution.

24 Jun Press Review on Current Issues, Problems

MB2406093991

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY TIMES

New Security Legislation Places Burden on Leadership—"The proposed new security legislation represents a significant move towards the values of liberal, accountable and democratic government. The scrapping of laws which made it difficult to register newspapers, the ending of the infamous 'banning' of people and, of course, the reduction in terms of detention all mean a freer, more robust and, one hopes, more mature polity," states the page 26 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 23 June. "The old truism becomes relevant: there can be no liberty without responsibility." "That can happen only if there is a profound change in the attitudes of all parties: the police accept accountability and public surveillance; the courts become accessible and are able to operate in terms of just law; and the public eschews the temptation to take personal revenge—the privatised, and all too often violent, justice that is scarring our society." "This desperate need to rehabilitate our institutions places a heavy burden on the country's political leadership—in particular President F.W. de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. Both must fight hard against the wiles of vested interests, whether it be recidivist security force members who want 'business as usual' or youthful comrades bucking the law and authority of their own leaders."

SUNDAY STAR

Beware Impression of Government Secret Agenda?—"There are disquieting signs that the Government's abolition of race laws may form part of a secret agenda to retain practical segregation without statutory apartheid," writes Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 23 June in its page 12 editorial. "A case in point is the systematic closure of under-utilised white schools,

instead of merely anticipating the inevitable and opening them to all." The friction and doubt that this action has already caused could "raise doubts about Mr F.W. de Klerk's entire political agenda and make the already imperilled negotiation process doubly difficult. He must move boldly and swiftly." "Of course, opening schools is not without its own problems but it is inevitable as was the end of apartheid. Let Mr de Klerk act now and not appear to be bowing to pressure or violence. The sooner he does, the more credibility he will retain."

SATURDAY STAR

Government Praised for Attending Peace Meeting—"Good for the Government. The decision to swallow its pride and attend this weekend's preparatory peace summit shows a mature realisation that it needs to work with [preceding word published in italics] the other actors on the problem of endemic violence, rather than seeking as before to 'supervise' them from above," states the page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 22 June. This weekend's meeting has "succeeded in bringing together all the groups which can make a tangible contribution to efforts to end the violence." While expectations on the outcome are not high, the meeting "could mark the end of a sorry period of political posing and preening while the country burned". "While the Government may sound overly 'coy' in stressing the 'exploratory' nature of the get-together, and insisting that it is attending as the National Party, not the administration, it is to be commended for resisting the temptation to claim the original idea as its own—and thereby starting the tit-for-tat merry-go-round again. The ANC—African National Congress—should respond in kind in all it has to say at the meeting and after it." The presence of the Pan-Africanist Congress, PAC, at the meeting, a first, is an "exciting element," given the PAC's previous distaste for meetings with the government. The editorial concludes: "The weekend meeting might only be preparatory, but great things can flow from it."

THE STAR

Arbitrator Needed on Prisoners' Release Issue—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 24 June in a page 12 editorial says the early lifting of sanctions without internal agreement with the ANC on the prisoner issue "will not bring Mr de Klerk closer to substantive negotiations." "The parties must see whether they can agree on a further list of prisoners who qualify for speedy administrative release. To settle differences over the remaining borderline cases an impartial arbitrator of unquestioned integrity should be brought in."

BUSINESS DAY

Criticism of Taxation on Company Bursaries—"Of all this government's follies, taxing company study bursaries is among the most crass," declares a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 24 June.

"When it is coupled with the closure of white teacher training facilities, the folly is compounded." Cutting off the bursary opportunity for black and white children could be stoking the country's "revolutionary turmoil."

RAPPORT

ANC Responsible for Mob Violence—"The ANC decision to continue with its mass action campaign is disturbing because it indicates that it cannot handle the transition from a militant movement to a democratic party," declares the page 10 editorial in Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans of 16 June. "Mob violence has little to do with the right of every political party to demonstrate in public. The ANC cannot claim to be exercising its right as long as its mass action campaign leads to attacks and murders of city councilors and to public intimidation." "Such actions leave scars on community life, as seen in the disruption of black schools."

DIE BURGER

Three Key Factors Will Determine the Success of the New South Africa—"The State President, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, formally announced the end of apartheid legislation in Parliament yesterday," declares a page 12 editorial in Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 18 June. "The road ahead towards a successful future for South Africa rests on three cardinal factors: The ending of the totally unacceptable violence in South Africa; urgent economic growth and negotiations for a new constitution." "Many stumbling blocks in the way of negotiations have been removed. What remains is for the ANC to reach consensus on leadership and policy issues at its July congress in Durban." "If the ANC wants to participate in the process of democracy then it will have to observe the rules of the game."

REPUBLIKEIN

Editorial Alleges SWAPO Practicing Double Standards—"The invitation issued to ANC [African National Congress] President Oliver Tambo is proof of the double standards practiced by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]," notes a page 8 editorial in Windhoek REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans on 16 June. "A week ago the government swept aside a decision to invite UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader Jonas Savimbi stating that it would only communicate with the head of state of that country." "Now the question is being asked: What about SWAPO rubbing shoulders with the ANC? The ANC has diplomatic representation in Namibia; 1 million rand was donated to the ANC—the list goes on." "In the process, Namibia is in danger of isolating the power base both within and outside South Africa." "It is time for SWAPO to get rid of its blinders. Contacts between South Africa and other African countries are growing rapidly despite OAU and UN resolutions."

Angola

UNITA: MPLA Laws on Democracy 'Not Binding'

MB2106163291 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1500 GMT 21 Jun 91

[Text] A spokesman for the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement of Angola says laws on democracy passed by the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government are not binding on UNITA. The spokesman said all such laws would have to be revealed to ensure they complied with recent Angolan peace agreements, and could be challenged by UNITA. He mentioned several laws, including one which states that Angolan political parties may not receive aid from foreign governments. Aid from the United States was essential to turn the movement into a well-structured party.

Joint Commission To Set Election Dates

MB2206195091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Text] Contrary to planning, the regulations of the three subcommissions of the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM] will only be approved on 27 June. This was disclosed by CCPM official spokesman Mr. Abel Chivukuvuku at the end of the commission's second plenary meeting.

The meeting decided that the Political Commission, CP, will set the elections dates as soon as possible. The CP will also deal with the demobilization of surplus FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] personnel. The CP will find ways of resolving the countless problems related to refugees and war-displaced persons.

The CCPM members set for 29 June their first official visit to Jamba, UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] headquarters.

Madagascar

Opposition Presents Provisional Government List

AB2106153091 Paris AFP in English 1514 GMT
21 Jun 91

[Text] Antananarivo, June 21 (AFP)—Madagascar's 16-party opposition front on Friday announced the names of 29 members of a provisional government to tens of thousands of demonstrators massed in the city centre. Main party leaders were named, but what portfolios they would hold was not mentioned, nor who would be prime minister.

Prominent on the list was Manandafy Rakotonirina, one of the regime's most well-known opponents who heads the formerly Marxist Movement for Proletarian Power, which now espouses liberal principles. It was he who read the list to the demonstrators.

Others included veteran Politician Pastor Richard Andriamanjato, leader of another of the island's once communist groups which have turned to liberal socialism. Albert Zafy, chief of the 16-party Hery Velona (Lifeblood Committee) coalition which has organised the mass protests since June 10, and lawyer Francisque Ravony, who is being widely tipped in opposition circles as the provisional government's first prime minister.

The government of President Didier Ratsiraka has remained mute so far. A top-level delegation from the powerful Federation of Christian Churches met Admiral Ratsiraka, in power since 1975, late Thursday to present opposition demands for democratic changes. They include the departure of the government of military prime minister Colonel Victor Ramahatra, and dissolution of parliament and the main state agencies.

Further on Opposition Government

AB2106211391 Paris AFP in English 1804 GMT
21 Jun 91

[By Didier Lapeyronie]

[Text] Antananarivo, June 21 (AFP)—Madagascar's political stalemate continued Friday after the country's 16-party opposition front announced the names of its 29-member provisional government. There was still no reaction from the authorities in the Indian Ocean island state.

"As soon as we are called, we have a government and a prime minister ready to work immediately," Manandafy Rakotonirina, one of the regime's best-known opposition leaders, told tens of thousands of supporters outside the capital's Mahamasina stadium.

The announcement of the list of names was the latest act of defiance in a two-week campaign of agitation for democratic reforms.

Meanwhile the government of President Didier Ratsiraka maintained its silence over the latest challenge to its authority.

According to a diplomatic source, the president flew to the north of Madagascar Friday to officially open a fish farm and to spend the weekend among the supporters at the Diego Suarez naval base.

Late Thursday, however, sources reported that Mr. Ratsiraka "very firmly" rejected opposition demands at a meeting with a delegation from the powerful Federation of Christian Churches.

The opposition parties are demanding the resignation of the government and the dissolution of the national assembly.

The opposition rally, organized by the umbrella Hery Velona (Lifeblood Committee) coalition, raised the ante a further notch in this latest campaign for political reform to hit Africa.

The 29 members of the provisional government, read out by Mr. Manandafy, included representatives from across the opposition political spectrum and all the main party leaders.

Mr. Manandafy did not indicate what portfolios they would hold or who would be prime minister.

Prominent on the list was Mr. Manandafy himself, who heads the formerly Marxist Movement for Proletarian Power, which now espouses liberal principles. Others included veteran politician Pastor Richard Andriamanjato, leader of another of the island's once communist groups which have turned to liberal socialism, Albert Zafy, chief of the 16-party Hery Velona coalition which has organised the mass protests since June 10, and lawyer Francisque Ravony, who is widely tipped as the provisional government's first prime minister.

Some marginal parties were also included, notably the Social Democratic Party led by Pierre Tsiranana, son of the republic's first president, Philibert Tsiranana.

Mr. Manandafy condemned the behavior of security forces on Thursday in the southern town of Fianarantsoa where four people were injured, one seriously, after teargas grenades were thrown at protestors. He called on police authorities to reprimand officers who were involved in disrupting the Fianarantsoa protest. Mr. Manandafy called on the military to join ranks with the opposition movement.

Opposition leaders here said the second week of street protests had ended without incident. However they reported rumours that Interior Minister Ampy Portos might be about to decree a state of emergency.

Ramahatra Rejects Opposition Claims

*AB2106221491 Paris AFP in English 2005 GMT
21 Jun 91*

[Excerpt] Antananarivo, June 21 (AFP)—Madagascar's Prime Minister Colonel Victor Ramahatra on Friday rejected opposition claims to forming a 29-member provisional government, saying that only the government appointed by President Didier Ratsiraka was legal.

Col. Ramahatra's statement was the first official reaction since the country's 16-party opposition front announced Thursday that it was forming a provisional government.

The opposition's announcement earlier Friday of a list of names of provisional ministers was the latest act of defiance in a two-week campaign of agitation for democratic reforms.

A communique by Col. Ramahatra read on the radio by Information Minister Jean-Claude Rahaga said the opposition's announcement was tantamount to "spreading false news which is punishable by the law".

Col. Ramahatra warned the opposition that he would move if new "excesses" were committed during anti-government demonstrations that have been held since June 10. [passage omitted]

'Tens of Thousands' Continue Demonstrating

*AB2206174191 Paris AFP in English 1611 GMT
22 Jun 91*

[By Didier Lapeyronie]

[Text] Antananarivo, June 22 (AFP)—Tens of thousands of Madagascan opposition supporters defied a warning from the government Saturday and gathered once more in the capital to demand an end to 16 years of rule by Admiral Didier Ratsiraka.

Albert Zafy, head of the Hery Velona (Lifeblood Committee) opposition front, told the throng in a central square that his movement had named a 29-member provisional government, ready to start work at once "which draws its legitimacy from the masses."

After that gauntlet thrown down to the government on Friday, Prime Minister Victor Ramahatra put his information minister, Jean Claude Rahaga, on state television to warn that the announcement was tantamount "to spreading false news, which is punishable by the law." Mr. Rahaga also said that all necessary steps would be taken to put down demonstrations if they got out of hand and dismissed the opposition move on the grounds that there was only one legal government in the Indian Ocean island republic.

Mr. Zafy said Saturday that protests would continue into a third week next week and challenged the prime minister "to dare to come and drive" Hery Velona out of May 13 Square. Partisans of the ruling National Front for the Defence of the Socialist Revolution, dominated by Adm. Ratsiraka's AREMA party, were now calling for "consultations," Mr. Zafy added, describing this as "already a victory" for his own 16-party coalition. "People will be talking about the demonstrations in all the churches" on Sunday, he said, announcing that an ecumenical service would be held in the Anglican cathedral in the capital.

Manandafy Rakotonira, leader of the Movement for Proletarian Power (MFM), a prominent formerly Marxist opposition party turned liberal, Saturday dismissed Col. Ramahatra as "President Ratsiraka's new rocket." Mr. Manandafy told AFP that colonel had been prime minister for three years and "this is the first time he has said anything since he was named." Atop a small rostrum facing the crowd, Mr. Zafy, a surgeon and professor of medicine in his 50s, repeated allegations that Adm. Ratsiraka and his close aides had stashed 130 billion French francs (21 billion dollars) away in banks abroad and demanded repatriation of the funds. He also called on Col. Ramahatra to release the "results of an enquiry into provocation by individuals arrested" by opposition supervisors monitoring the rallies. Crowd control agents had handed "some people with knives and others with petrol bombs" to the police, he said.

Throughout two weeks of demonstrations, the main Malagasy newspapers and diplomatic observers have noted Hery Velona's efforts to keep the protests in the capital peaceful. But four people were injured Thursday, one seriously, at Fianarantsoa in the centre of the country. Mr. Zafy charged Saturday that police in Fianarantsoa had "fired live bullets and thrown grenades, not teargas canisters," as reported.

Adm. Ratsiraka, who was elected for a third term in 1989, the year he legalised the opposition, was spending the weekend among supporters at the Diego Suarez naval base in the far north of Madagascar, diplomatic sources said.

Madagascan Foreign Minister Jean Bemananjara on Friday said in Mauritius that he had serious reservations about the provisional government announced by Hery Velona when "there is a legally formed government and a democratically elected president." The very fact that Mr. Bemananjara was out of the country (for a meeting of the Indian Ocean Commission) was "proof that democracy prevails in Madagascar," he said. "If there had been any risk of excesses, perhaps I would not have come here." He refused to comment on opposition demands for the scrapping of Madagascar's Charter of the Revolution and Constitution, saying only that "when the time comes for discussions, there will be discussions" and adding that Adm. Ratsiraka knew things needed changing.

Interior Minister Warns of Possible Clashes

AB2306224291 Paris AFP in English 1508 GMT
23 Jun 91

[Text] Antananarivo, June 23 (AFP)—Madagascar's interior minister warned Sunday of possible violent clashes between security forces and opponents of President Admiral Didier Ratsiraka as 150 protestors disrupted a rally of several thousand government supporters. "If things continue to escalate I am afraid it will only lead to clashes", Ampy Augustin Portos told AFP after opening a public rally of several thousand supporters of the president.

Rival supporters of the opposition Lifeblood Committee, braving public address systems set up by rally organizers repeatedly shouted down speakers. Referring to the poor attendance, Mr. Portos said the rally had been called "at very short notice and belatedly". It was the first time, he added, that oppositionists had intervened at a pro-government meeting. He accused the Lifeblood Committee of "demagogy" because it "promised to create jobs but has no economic programme", whereas the government, he said, was "negotiating with the World Bank, and has a reserve stock of 30,000 tons of rice, contrasting with 1973 when it had to import 300,000 tons". He denied that a statement Friday by Prime Minister Colonel Victor Rahamatra's saying that the opposition's "provisional government" formed last week was illegal, was tantamount to a threat to the opposition. "We represent constitutional legitimacy", he said.

Other speakers at the rally in Ambohojatovo park stressed that the government supporters were there "of their own free will". They criticised the hecklers and praised government policies. Monja Jaona, 83, leader of the Morima K (National Movement for Independence) which has joined the ruling party, told protestors: "If you want a clash, we are ready."

Sunday's rally came a day after tens of thousands of Madagascan opposition supporters defied a warning from the government and gathered once more in the capital to demand an end to 16 years of rule by Adm. Ratsiraka. The president, who was elected for a third term in 1989, the year he legalised the opposition, was spending the weekend among supporters at the Diego Suarez naval base in the far north of Madagascar, diplomatic sources said.

Mozambique

Communique Reports Attempted Coup Discovered

MB2206111391 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1054 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Communique issued by the Security Ministry issued in Maputo on 22 June]

[Text] A group made up of soldiers, some of them reservists, as well as civilians who were preparing a coup d'etat against the Government of the Republic of Mozambique has been detected. The group has been detained for investigation. This action takes place at a time when efforts are under way in the country to consolidate democracy and achieve a dignified, just, and lasting peace.

The Government of the Republic of Mozambique calls on all citizens to remain vigilant against these actions aimed at preventing the normalization of life of all the Mozambican people.

[Issued] Maputo, 22 June 1991

[Signed] Security Minister Mariano Matsinhe

'Sources' Name Two Generals

LD2306015991 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network
in Portuguese 2300 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Excerpts] After repeated denials, the Maputo government yesterday confirmed the arrest of several soldiers and civilians for alleged involvement in the plotting of a coup d'etat. [passage omitted]

It would appear that the attempted coup took place last weekend, and the government kept the matter under wraps so as not to alarm the population. Mozambican military sources have disclosed that among those arrested are Major General Domingos Fondo, who enjoys high esteem and prestige, and General Dinis Moiane, currently on the reserve list. This has not, however, been confirmed officially. [passage omitted]

Mozambican Deputy Minister for Cooperation Oldemiro Baloi, currently in Lisbon, has denied any connection between the attempted coup and the Rome talks between the Maputo government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]. He stated that his government is happy with the Italian mediators, but does not rule out a future mediating role for Portugal. He stressed that after the success scored in resolving the Angolan conflict, Portugal is ideally placed to become the mediator par excellence in African conflicts.

Security Forces Reportedly Placed on Alert

*MB2106115991 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] Diplomatic and military sources in Mozambique have just disclosed that the government put security forces on full alert last weekend to avoid an apparent coup attempt in the capital Maputo.

Diplomats are quoted as saying that the Presidential Guard was strengthened substantially and that the Presidential Palace in Maputo was surrounded by armored vehicles and special forces. They said many civilians living near the palace had left the area for fear of fighting breaking out.

The diplomats said senior hardline army officers were believed to have been involved in the planning of the attempted coup. They said the air force was not suspected of involvement because it fully supported the reforms of the Mozambican Government.

Tension is said to be running high in Maputo because a takeover by hardliners in the military could lead to the total reversal of the latest government reforms, such as the introduction of a multiparty system.

Army Chief Denies 'Speculation'

*MB2106193291 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1910 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] General Hama Thai, chief of Staff of the Mozambique Armed Forces, today rejected speculation about an alleged coup attempt in Mozambique last weekend. Radio Mozambique reports that Gen. Hama Thai was not aware of any abnormality [words indistinct] Mozambique Armed Forces over the last few days. Nevertheless, some sources continue insisting that the forces guarding the Presidency of the Republic have been strengthened and that certain military units have been put on alert. There are also rumors that certain military sectors are unhappy about living and working conditions and that this may lead to a peaceful demonstration in the Mozambican capital.

No Military Presence in Maputo

*LD2206095191 Lisbon RDP Internacional
in Portuguese 0910 GMT 22 Jun 91*

[Text] Mario Machungo and Cavaco Silva met for more than one hour yesterday. One of the topics broached was

inevitably the Mozambican peace process. The Mozambican prime minister denied that there was an attempted coup in his country. He said that reports on the subject were speculative. Orlanda Mendes gives us the latest on a report from South Africa today saying that President Joaquim Chissano informed the South African Government of the threat of a coup d'etat. According to our Mozambique correspondent, everything is quiet:

[Mendes] The [word indistinct] in Maputo is perfectly normal, without any military presence. [Words indistinct] rumors other than, obviously, reports from abroad. Chief of Staff General Hama Thai himself has not confirmed these reports. This morning, I tried to contact the Presidency, but it was not possible to find officials able to give me any information on what might be happening. Given the critical situation the country is in, however, the possibility of any serious event should not be ruled out. We will continue to remain alert and report any changes here.

Zimbabwe

Mugabe Calls on Ruling Party To Drop Marxism

*MB2106191091 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 21 Jun 91*

[Text] Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe has called on his ruling party to drop its socialist policy which it inherited from former Marxist Eastern European states. He proposed that, in the light of the collapse of communism in Europe, a social democracy would be more suitable for Zimbabwe.

Addressing the ruling party's Central Committee, Mr. Mugabe said socialism based on Marxism-Leninism had been adopted during the seven-year liberation struggle because the strongest support for his guerrilla army had come from Eastern Europe.

The party now wanted a mixed economy, however, as it had decided last year, and this meant they had chosen to become social democrats rather than pure socialists. Mr. Mugabe refrained from his usual attack on South Africa, which is seen as a diplomatic departure from his radical politics.

* Mugabe Discusses Long-Term Economic Policy

*91AF1163B Harare THE HERALD in English
19 Apr 91 p 1*

[Text] President Mugabe has reaffirmed the Government's commitment to transform Zimbabwe's highly regulated economy without making the poor poorer and attract investment to create employment.

Addressing thousands of people gathered to celebrate the 11th independence anniversary at the National Sports Stadium, President Mugabe outlined the Government's plans over the next five years to stimulate economic

growth, through a phased trade liberalisation programme which would be supported by fiscal and monetary policies.

He said after a thorough review of constraints to economic growth, the Government had made deliberate adjustments to its economic policy, and had embarked on a structural adjustment reform and trade liberalisation programme.

Cde. Mugabe said expenditure in the productive sectors and essential services would be increased to stimulate economic recovery and sustained growth.

To achieve this, the Government would have to make concerted efforts to reduce the Budget deficit by reducing subsidies to public enterprises, introducing cost-recovery measures in the health and education sectors and cutting the size of the civil service.

Measures had already been taken to encourage both domestic and foreign investment. The Zimbabwe Investment Centre had approved projects worth \$1.5 billion to date, with a potential of creating over 25,000 new jobs, he said.

"The signing of the agreement with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation in June, 1990 and the Convention of the International Centre for Settlement of Disputes in March, 1991, should serve as adequate assurances to potential investors," he said.

To ensure the success of the economic restructuring programme, Cde. Mugabe said the Government had taken measures to mobilise foreign funding. These measures included raising \$300 million for the rehabilitation of industry from the African Development Bank and \$250 million from the International Finance Corporation.

The recently-held Paris donors' conference had raised US\$700 million for 1991, 20 percent of which was in grant form and the balance in soft loans at concessionary interest rates or tied aid.

In addition, the Government had provided the Zimbabwe Development Bank with a \$30 million loan facility to assist emerging entrepreneurs to procure capital for new business ventures.

Other facilities included raising the equity of Sedco [Small Enterprise Development Corporation] from \$5 million to \$36 million, establishing a venture capital company, and supporting the formation of the Indigenous Business Development Council.

In support of trade liberalisation, President Mugabe said a number of measures were being taken to improve efficiency of the transport sector.

Negotiations had already been finalised between the National Railways of Zimbabwe, the World Bank and Usaid, to provide a five-year loan facility of US\$293

million. The funds would be used to procure diesel locomotives and machine tools for technical assistance and management development programmes.

"Government has also allocated \$1 billion to procure commercial vehicles to alleviate shortages in this sector, and speed up the movement of goods," President Mugabe said. "Other constraints will be further alleviated by the relaxation of controls on road transportation in line with the country's economic reforms."

On the labour front, the Government had allowed employers and workers to enter into free collective bargaining agreements, to fix and review wages, salaries and conditions of employment.

However, the Government would continue fixing minimum wages in those sectors where the collective bargaining machinery was either weak or non-existent, such as the agricultural and domestic sectors.

Cde. Mugabe said far-reaching reforms had been taken in the agricultural sector, both in the production and marketing system. This was necessary and appropriate in order to counter the persistent droughts and the need to match the economic reform programme.

As a result, there had been a remarkable increase in deliveries of maize and sunflower from communal producers. To encourage farmers to produce more crops, it would be necessary to pay more for their efforts.

To stimulate cattle production and ensure availability of slaughter stock to the Cold Storage Commission, he said the Government had this year awarded a 25 percent producer price for beef. New legislation would be introduced to control operations of private abattoirs.

Cde. Mugabe said emphasis had been placed on building medium-sized dams and drilling boreholes to ensure the availability of water supplies.

On the land issue, he said the Government would amend the Land Acquisition Act which would make it possible to acquire land for resettlement.

On mining, Cde. Mugabe said the total value of mineral production in 1990 was \$1.35 billion, an 8 percent increase over the previous year. Gold, nickel, asbestos and ferro-chrome registered the largest increases.

He said the structural adjustment programme revolved around mainly the manufacturing sector, as it played a pivotal role in the economy through intra- and inter-sectoral linkages.

The Government was aware of the temporary hardships that would be experienced by some groups during the early stages of the structural adjustment programme.

"A comprehensive social security programme is being prepared in order to counter the effects of adjustment on vulnerable groups such as the poor, low-income bracket, the disabled, women and children," the President said.

Liberia

Sawyer Names Cabinet, Comments on Elections

AB2206111291 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 22 Jun 91

[Text] The president, Dr Amos Sawyer, says all cabinet officials will be requested to take leave of their party positions where applicable to ensure that they devote full time to public service during the period of the interim government. Additionally, the president says cabinet officials desirous of contesting for positions in the forthcoming presidential and general elections are to resign from their offices once the modalities of the election process are worked out.

On political accommodation and the search for peace, the president disclosed that every cabinet member is willing to relinquish his position in future, if necessary, to effect political accommodation. On the holding of free and fair elections, Dr. Sawyer reiterated [the] government's commitment to holding internationally supervised elections in the manner similar to the conduct of the last elections in Namibia. An elections commission that will be financially and legally separated and (?independent) of the interim government will be established, the president said.

Meanwhile, the president has announced the nomination of several ministers, deputy ministers, and heads of government agencies to the interim Legislative Assembly for its consideration as government moves forward in the reconstitution of the Cabinet.

[Paris AFP in English at 0216 GMT on 22 June adds the following in a Monrovia-dated report: "Renominated ministers were Foreign Minister Gabriel Baccus Matthews, Finance Minister Byron Tarr, Defence Minister Edward Kesselly, Planning and Economic Affairs Minister Amelia Ward, Minister of State for Presidential Affairs Joseph Guannu, and Justice Minister Philip Banks. Newly appointed were Commerce and Industry Minister Jim Holder, Public Works Minister Togba Nganana, Information, Culture and Tourism Minister Lamini Waritay, Lands, Mines and Energy Minister Jonathan Mason, and Minister of State without Portfolio Levi Zangai." "The interim president also appointed David Vinton as governor of the Central Bank and Alexander Nbyeke as director of the Budget. Karmor Soko Sackor retained his post as commissioner of immigration and naturalization."]

Nigeria

Official Statement on Payment of OAU Dues

AB1906093691 Dakar PANA in English 1023 GMT
18 Jun 91

[Text] Lagos, 18 June (NAN/PANA)—Nigeria Monday denied reports that it was indebted to the OAU to the tune of two million US dollars. The London-based

WEST AFRICA news magazine had in its weekly edition following the Abuja OAU summit reported that Nigeria owed the continental organisation the amount in unpaid contributions.

The Nigerian External Affairs Ministry said in a statement that Nigeria paid its outstanding arrears of 561,485.64 U.S. dollars for the 1990/91 through a cheque issued to the organisation on 6 June 1991 in Abuja, the country's future capital.

The ministry said as at the time of the publication, Nigeria did not owe the OAU any outstanding contribution for the said period. It added: The Nigerian Government wishes to categorically state that it does not owe the organisation and...Nigeria has always paid her contributions as and when due."

The statement stressed that Nigeria had always held the strong view that member states should fulfil their financial obligations to the organisation to make it viable and be in a position to fulfill its mandate.

Abass Bundu on Defaulting ECOWAS Members

AB1006222091 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1500 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Text] ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] sanctions on member countries in default of financial contributions are to come into force next month. The sanctions include the suspension of projects and personnel of such countries.

The executive secretary of the subregional body, Dr. Abass Bundu, announced this in Lagos. He disclosed that he had been given the mandate by the heads of state of the organization to deny debtor nations new projects as well as the financing of existing projects from the ECOWAS Fund. Dr. Bundu said that employees from such countries at the ECOWAS Secretariat could be suspended and then terminated if their home governments fail to pay up after three months. He stressed that lack of funds was hampering the operations of the organization. The 16-year old subregional body is being owed over \$16 million by some member nations.

Oil Minister, OPEC Secretary General in Talks

AB1906143691 Dakar PANA in English 1226 GMT
19 Jun 91

[Text] Lagos, 19 June (NAN/PANA)—The OPEC secretary-general, Dr. Subroto, said in Lagos that a major goal of the organisation was to use oil to enhance the living conditions of member-states, Third World countries and the world at large. Subroto, who arrived in Lagos on Monday on a four day visit to Nigeria, said Tuesday while exchanging views with the minister of petroleum resources, Prof. Jibril Aminu, that in a bid to achieve the objective, OPEC accorded high priority to three factors. These all important factors are economic prosperity, energy security and environmental safety, which I may call the triple E, he said.

He said the three issues were inter-related, adding that it would be virtually impossible to effectively address one issue in isolation of the others. The secretary-general said market stability was in the interest of both producers and consumers. No one would like a repeat of the traumatic experiences of the 1980s when the oil price tumbled from 32 dollars per barrel to 9 dollars per barrel, he said.

The Indonesian said OPEC had always believed that dialogue between producers and consumers was a means of achieving stability. Although we cannot totally eliminate price fluctuation, we can do something to reduce it, he explained. Subroto said July's dialogue, slated for Paris at the instance of French President Francois Mitterrand, and his Venezuelan counterpart, Carlos Andres Perez, would go a long way toward enhancing oil market stability.

Subroto on Impending Oil Shortage

*AB2206191691 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 0600 GMT 20 Jun 91*

[Text] The secretary general of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, OPEC, Dr. Subroto, has said that there would be a global shortage of oil production by the turn of the century. The secretary general made the prediction yesterday in Lagos. He said that for the situation to be averted, massive investments should be made in the near future. Dr. Subroto said that world oil demands would rise to 57.7 million barrels per day in the year 2000. The projection is based on the price scenario of \$21.00 per barrel. Dr. Subroto noted that for OPEC to satisfy future oil demands, the organization would have to raise its production capacity to as much as 35 million barrels per day. He called for cooperation between oil and nonoil producing countries, especially in the area of information on oil.

Northern States Set Up Peace Committee

*AB1906112691 Kaduna Radio Nigeria in English
1700 GMT 17 Jun 91*

[Text] A seven-man committee to look into ways of ensuring peace and stability in the northern part of Nigeria has been set up by amirs and chiefs from the 11 northern states. A communique issued at the end of their meeting in Kaduna said the committee is headed by the sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki. Members of the committee are the shehu of Borno, Alhaji Mustapha Umar el-Kanemi; the amir of Kano, Alhaji Abu Bayero; and the amir of Zozo, Dr. Shehu Idriss. Other members of the committee are the (Gbonba Jos), Dr. Humbot; the Tor Tiv, Mr. Alfred Tokula; and the chief of Kogoro, Mallam Gorno Awang.

Answering questions, the chairman of the committee and the sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, said the committee would function on a continuous basis. He said the committee would serve in advisory capacity to the government on how to maintain peace and stability in the northern part of the country as a whole. The sultan

noted with great regret that some states in the north had witnessed frequent disturbances in recent times. According to him, time had come for self-examination among the states in the north instead of blaming a section of the community for the disturbances. Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki said the much needed peace and stability in the country could be achieved with peaceful coexistence among Muslims and Christians.

Katsina Religious Rioters Stand Trial

*AB2006113491 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1500 GMT 18 Jun 91*

[Text] Four of the accused persons standing trial before the civil disturbances tribunal sitting in Katsina have admitted participating in the April 19 riots that resulted in the destruction of some public buildings in the state capital. They are: Kassim Abubakar, Mohamed Bashiru, Mohamed Ali, and Hassan Debeiru. In separate statements that were read at the tribunal, the four accused persons also admitted that they were followers of Mallam Yakubu Yahaya, the Shi'ite leader in Katsina.

Speaking on behalf of his colleagues, Mohamed Bashiru appealed to the tribunal to allow their relations to visit them in prison and bring them new clothings. The accused persons are among the first batch of 25 suspects standing trial before the tribunal.

Senegal

*** Economic Outlook: Impact of Gulf War**

*91AF1128B Dakar W.A.L. FADJRI in French
19-25 Apr 91 p 5*

[Text] The 1990 rainy season began late, and the little rainfall it brought was poorly distributed. Agricultural production is down. Probably fewer than 400,00 [as published] metric tons of peanuts for oil will be marketed, and cereal production is estimated at 980,000 metric tons. Fortunately, increased acreage made it possible to limit the effects of the sharp drop in crop yields (down 27 percent in the case of cotton and down 14 percent in the case of corn).

It is still too early to make any predictions about the industrial sector, but the events in the Gulf prevented a drop in energy costs, while the situation in public finance and the foreseeable increase in delayed domestic payments are scarcely favorable. The phosphate industry is obviously entering a difficult period linked to the drop in the value of the dollar. And lastly, the fishing industry is also suffering from a drop in prices and from difficulties in obtaining supplies.

Stabilization With Risk of Deteriorating External Balances

The trade balance, which had been experiencing a good recovery since 1986-87, stabilized in 1989-90. The results for the 1990 calendar year were also satisfactory,

since the impact of the Gulf crisis on the petroleum bill were moderate thanks to large purchases in July. The cereal bill was also down despite larger quantities: rice imports totaled 370,000 metric tons, but lower prices and a cheaper dollar caused the value to drop by 19 percent, while wheat imports totaled 115,000 metric tons (+6 percent).

On the other hand, the estimated balance of payments according to the IMF program for 1990-91 is certainly too optimistic owing to the probable increase in the petroleum bill and slower growth in exports, but this will be offset in part by the fact that the estimated interest due on the public debt did not take into account the cancellation of French and German debts. The current-account balance may show a deficit of between 40 and 50 billion CFA [African Financial Community] francs, depending on foreign exchange rates, rather than only 36 billion.

State's Financial Crisis

The good marks obtained from the IMF following the review of March 1990 did not last long. The French financial mission visiting us at about the same time had its doubts even then about the optimistic IMF conclusions, which were the basis for paying the fourth installment of FASR [expansion not given] funds. The deviations from the 1989-1990 program could no longer be concealed beginning in July 1990.

Failure of 1989-90 Financial Program

Deviation in revenues: The basic deviation was in revenues, which totalled 256 billion CFA francs, or nearly 20 billion less than called for in the program. The program called for an increase of 30 billion CFA francs over the preceding fiscal year thanks to three principal measures: the application of the TVA [value-added tax] to more products, higher import duties (with the introduction of minimum amounts to be collected), and a beefing up of the fight against fraud thanks to the computerized management of customs procedures.

Actually, the program's objectives were achieved through March only because of a series of unorthodox manipulations, and customs revenues did not improve as expected. Technical difficulties made it impossible to put the computerized system for customs procedures into general use as expected. Lastly, the political will for halting major fraud was lacking.

Deviation in expenditures: In the case of expenditures, differences on the order of 18 billion CFA francs were recorded, basically in the areas of current expenditures, special accounts, and corresponding items. Personnel expenditures seem to have been gotten under control, although it is difficult to verify that point. The differences can probably be explained by faster consumption on the part of government departments—a development that canceled out the freeze on consumption, which was adopted too late. Lastly, important gaps were noted in

most of the "open" expenditures (export premiums, participation in international organizations, and so on).

Insufficient Foreign Assistance

While there were budget problems in connection with both revenues and expenditures, fewer foreign funds were mobilized than had been hoped:

First, budget grants dropped by 3.4 billion CFA francs.

Second, payments for structural adjustment assistance totaled 41.6 billion CFA francs, or 6.5 billion less than the objective.

On the other hand, and as provided in the program, Senegal benefited from quite favorable conditions granted by the Paris Club and also felt the first "effects of debt forgiveness" (unconditional contributions of about 59 billion CFA francs in all).

Gap of 40 Billion

The overall gap therefore amounted to more than 40 billion CFA francs—a situation that eventually led to suspension of the FASR program and the establishment of a probationary program. Under those conditions, the financial adjustment took place basically in three areas:

First, arrears on agricultural credits were supposed to be paid up to a total of 25 billion CFA francs, including 10 billion by Sonacos [National Oleaginous Product Marketing Company of Senegal]. While the latter managed to meet its obligations, partly through borrowing, the same was not true of the state (11 billion not paid but funded through the BCEAO [Central Bank of the West African States]).

Second, the consolidated debt, including the Oncad [National Office of Cooperation and Assistance for Development] debt, was reduced by only 4.2 billion CFA francs rather than the planned 10.1 billion.

Third, arrears on the domestic debt rose by 21.5 billion CFA francs, whereas the program called for paying off that debt completely (8.5 billion CFA francs).

In order to meet certain urgent cash needs and satisfy IMF requirements with respect to PNG [expansion not given] during the fiscal year and especially at the end of 1989, the state made use of bridging loans secured by expected foreign financing (CAS IV [expansion not given], U.S. AID [Agency for International Development], and so on).

* Thiam Faces Economic Issues, Elections

91AF1173A Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE
in French May 91 pp 86-87

[Article by Adama Gaye: "Senegal: Free Union Government"; first paragraph is JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE introduction]

[Text] By reshuffling his government President Abdou Diouf is offering his hand to the opposition. Is this intended to neutralize it more effectively?

Not one of the very large number of political observers in Dakar had predicted the appointment on 7 April of Habib Thiam to the position of prime minister. Catching everyone by surprise, including the wife of the new prime minister, who reportedly learned of it over the radio, the news put an end to the predictions, which had so many other eligible candidates in the top position. Two names in particular had been mentioned. One of them was Moustapha Niasse, a man respected by all social and political groups in the country, as well as by the organizations and countries providing economic assistance to Senegal. The other name was that of Famara Ibrahima Sagna, the man who handled negotiations between the government and the opposition, on the one hand, and with the "separatists" of the Casamance area, on the other.

Until 6 April, the date when the appointment of the new prime minister was announced, there was no doubt in the minds of the Senegalese people that one or the other of the two favored candidates listed above would be called on to lead the new government team. No one, or nearly no one, in Dakar placed any stock in the rumors that the chief of state might call on one of his close associates, such as Tanor Ousmane Dieng, the director of his personal cabinet and a clever maneuverer, or the colorless Andre Sonko, the secretary general of the Office of the Presidency.

However, these rumors—or were they a diversion?—had contributed in no small way to maintaining an artistic uncertainty about the choice of the leader of the Senegalese Government. Even the outline of an ideal prime minister sketched by President Abdou Diouf in a speech given on the evening of 3 April (the night before the independence celebration) was not enough to silence the speculation. The question asked was who would be the man charged with this consensus, in substance, with coordinating, rationalizing, and, in short, in the very words of President Diouf, "identifying and promoting the economic conditions essential for the achievement of the social, cultural, and political aspirations of the Senegalese people."

Since 7 April the mystery has been dissipated. However, the appointment of Habib Thiam was apparently unscheduled. It was even reported to be a last-minute solution. For, according to our information, the Senegalese president reportedly decided to call on Habib Thiam, his long-time friend, after being turned down by Moustapha Niasse. Reportedly, the latter refused to accept the position at the very last minute because he had not obtained a free hand to act in "the interests of the Senegalese consumers."

During a private dinner on 6 April at the presidential palace on Avenue Roume, in the presence of the chief of state, Habib Thiam, and Medoune Fall, Moustapha

Niasse reportedly expressed his desire to reduce the price of basic foods (rice and sugar), to lower the value-added tax, and to prosecute all of senior officials guilty of corruption or of misappropriating funds. After failing to obtain support for these conditions, and certainly because he wished to put it on record, he preferred to decline the appointment and rather resume control of his flourishing business.

His refusal opened the way to Habib Thiam. A surprising comeback for this 58-year-old man! Like Abdou Diouf, he is a former student in the French overseas school system. He is a political figure well known to his fellow citizens because of the important cabinet positions that he held in the past (secretary of state for planning and development and then minister of rural development). He was also the first prime minister to serve under Abdou Diouf in 1981.

Does his return to this same position mean that the pendulum of Senegalese policy is going to be set back to 1983? At that time, following a mediocre election campaign, which lacked any thematic consistency or credible government program, Habib Thiam was replaced as prime minister immediately after the proclamation of the disputed results of the presidential and legislative elections of 27 February 1983. He took refuge in the position of president of the National Assembly. However, there also, following an intrigue among the deputies, apparently orchestrated from the presidential palace, he was forced to resign as president of Parliament in 1984.

It was then believed that this amateur athlete, who was French national champion in the 200-meter sprint in 1954 and 1957, was permanently lost to the upper levels of political life. Wrong! However, after so long an absence from politics will he be able to deal with the numerous challenges currently arising in Senegal? His first statement, shortly after his appointment, leads us to think that he is aware of the extent of these challenges.

He said on this occasion: "The government team, united in the framework of consolidated and deepened democracy and with a broadened presidential majority, is going to lead in the diligent implementation of an action program prepared to bring our country out of the economic and social crisis and to move resolutely along the path of development. The government, with God's help, will fully play its part."

With God's help or not, the government's part will not be an easy one. This is because, first of all, his cabinet—composed of 19 members, very few of whom are new faces—could rapidly suffer from its hybrid composition. Paradoxically, in fact, the entry of an opposition party into the cabinet threatens to raise more problems than it will solve. Rightly or wrongly, Senegalese public opinion considers that, by giving in to the siren song of the government, under the pretext of the need to build a consensus around what is essential, Dr. Abdoulaye Wade of the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] and other

opposition leaders included in the cabinet will simply serve as a kind of protection against the unpopular measures, which the government is going to have to take.

Moreover, it is symptomatic that the opposition has been assigned "sensitive" ministries (labor, housing, literacy) or "empty shells" (like the Ministry of Health without portfolio assigned to Dr. Wade or that of a still hypothetical post of "African integration" assigned to the enigmatic Jean-Paul Diaz, formerly a strong figure in the government). In fact by not going all the way to a true political breakthrough, which would have required really opening up the cabinet to all of the components of Senegalese society grouped around a program of consensus, the government has disappointed some of its supporters, either potential or actual. More seriously, the negotiations carried out secretly to set up this government have quickly turned out to be maneuvers on behalf of the government system.

In a mocking way and to describe the changes that have taken place in the leadership of the country the Senegalese people are recalling the title of a song (still popular) by Youssou N'Dour, a local star: "Douma Combine Bere." In other words, "I will not be part of a scheme. Let us fight against it!"

Faced with all of these suspicions, the Senegalese leaders will have very little room to maneuver. And they will have to try to convince people as quickly as possible, despite a very difficult economic situation, characterized in particular by low agricultural production, a decline in employment, weak purchasing power, and limited financial resources available to the state. The cabinet will have to govern with an eye fixed on the elections of 1993. So will we see a breakdown of this unnatural government alliance? It is certain that the conflicting presidential ambitions of at least two of the actors in this drama, in this case Abdou Diouf and Abdoulaye Wade, could raise a question about this fragile structure.

We will also follow with close attention the maneuvers of Moustapha Niasse. From now on free to move as he wishes and aware of the disappointment aroused by this government of minimal national union, he can work the broadest kind of field. Members—and particularly senior leaders—of the Socialist Party, confused by the about turns of Abdou Diouf, their secretary general, could rally to Moustapha Niasse if he ever decided to return to the political arena again.

Niasse could also press his advantage over other elements of political life, which have been left on the sidelines, following the recent government reorganization. Moreover, it is not just opposition parties that will show their discontent whenever the occasion arises. Tired of the "negotiations between party staff leaders," to use the words of Madiodio Fall (who regards himself as one of the members of civil society that constitutes a "majority in the country"), many Senegalese would like to have their voices and their differing views heard. All the more so since certain measures should soon broaden

the prospects for a democratic experiment that was running out of steam. A new electoral code will be prepared, the state media will allow all forms of opinion to express themselves, and the courts will mend their ways, as Assane Bassirou Diouf, the new first president of the Supreme Court and known for the frankness of his speech, has said.

Under these conditions it will be necessary to wait for the general elections of 1993 to know whether the political changes, which have taken place in Senegal, as Babacar Toure of SUD HEBDO has suggested, are "an historical turning point." Or whether, and more likely, in the analysis of Abdou Sow of WAL FADJRI, a weekly paper, this "Senegalese style reconciliation is going to be a fragile kind of thing."

* National Conference Obviated by PDS Power

91AF1128D Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
19-25 Apr 91 p 3

[Editorial by Abdou Sow: "Cushy Jobs"]

[Text] It's gospel: the last shall be first. The changes taking place before our eyes are illustrating the truth of that assertion in a way that is inglorious but—unfortunately!—very common on the Senegalese political stage. Since joining the government, Wade, Dan-sokho, and the others have suddenly become people who are completely fit to associate with. Moreover, obscure coal shovelers who once specialized in throwing mud on opponents have been transformed into brownnosers defending with comical conviction what they were recently attacking with excessive zeal. But it will be noticed that only individuals given to excess are capable of those jumps from one extreme to the other.

The sudden propulsion of former opponents onto the center of the government stage is sure to stir up more and more allegiance to men whose political fortunes are creating a sort of suction. The reason is that it will be necessary to find people for cabinet staffs—experts to light the way for the new ministers. And the movement seems to have begun already, with compliments and congratulations arriving from where they were not expected and constituting far more than mere expressions of politeness. People are confessing that they have always believed in the clearheadedness of this or that newly promoted politician.

Others, it seems, are putting dossiers together at lightning speed to show clearly that they have had occasion to display their knowledge concerning this or that aspect of the matters falling under the jurisdiction of a ministry that has now been entrusted to a former opponent. Talking about ethics here is a complete waste of time, since it is part of the very warp of Senegalese political practice that morals are completely out of the picture when it comes to winning or holding on to power. Unfortunately, Senegal is not alone in that respect. But the big upheaval caused by the government shakeup is thoroughly upsetting long-established habits. Within the

parties, to begin with, since their colors no longer provide political identification enabling one to tell who one's friends are and who one's enemies are.

During an enlightenment meeting held a few days before the cabinet reshuffle, Wade laid heavy stress on the two levels of perception, which his party's members would now have to adopt in their analyses: to begin with, the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party], as a member of the current government team, has the duty to acknowledge its responsibilities in the management of public affairs, and in addition, the members must be capable of moving very quickly in 1993 to return to the ranks of an opposition party seeking to win power by defeating its former comrades in the enlarged government. It is not very likely that those brave men in the rank and file understand the subtle maneuverings of the political leaders. For that matter, do the leaders have a clear understanding of the process under way? Certainly. But they are not providing a convincing explanation. It is a little rash to rely on a mass of under-informed opponents to engage in tactical movements worthy of supertrained commandos.

It has been realized, however, that on the current team, from which the president of the republic seems to be expecting a miracle, the only obvious fact is the existence of great weariness. What the return of a former prime minister and the enlargement of the government to take in part of the opposition boil down to essentially is the abandonment of original solutions for getting Senegal out of its paralysis. There is also nothing surprising about the rainbow-colored makeup of the government, with its socialist-liberal-Marxist hues. It is a sort of Noah's ark for political movements in distress. But what else could be done, considering that government programs, plans for society, and stages of development are no longer left to the individual judgment of a particular party? Socialist, communist, and liberal doctrines are all coming together under the omnipresent and all-powerful imperialism of the financial institutions, which alone determine the standard mold into which all poor societies must fit if they want prosperity.

The defeat of political thought has now been finally confirmed, and the beneficiary is methods that are stupid, ineffective, and dangerous but that have the backing of those few structures around the world that are able to place financing at the disposal of the poor countries. Although with the mind-boggling requests coming in from devastated Kuwait and Iraq and from disorganized East Europe, it is unlikely that Senegal and other African countries will be able to make their cries of distress heard. But if it is unable to stir up a movement of funds for putting our anemic economy back on its feet, the government in power can always put on a show to induce the public to be patient. In addition—and this is surely the main reason for its existence—the motley government team will also make it possible to avoid holding the national conference that was being demanded by Conacpo [National Conference of Opposition Party Leaders], which wanted Senegal to start down the path followed by several African countries. And it must be recognized that the government has done a fine

job of running ahead of the problem by pretending to give spontaneously what would certainly have been taken from it anyway if its opponents' proposals had been accepted.

The weakness of the excessively fragmented opposition, which is divided into a myriad of parties, enabled the government to avoid a violent confrontation with the strongest of its opponents. The government made that opponent an objective ally by handing over a portion of its prerogatives representing much less than the damage to which it surely would have been exposed in a merciless battle between the PS [Socialist Party] and the PDS. It is not out of the question that when the next election battle comes along in 1993, the liberals and socialists will draw closer to each other rather than separating.

The truth is that we are witnessing major rapprochements between parties both in the majority and in the opposition. At the same time—very naturally—old alliances are breaking up and casting adrift broad patches of what used to constitute groups of political parties. We are actually witnessing a new distribution of forces, with all that implies in the way of breakups, separation, shocks, and regroupings—a kind of political tectonics prefiguring the electoral map of 1993. This drift involves more than the party apparatuses. Outstanding individuals on the political and social scene will be forced to position themselves in terms of that reality, which for the moment is unsettled but that will grow clearer in the months to come.

Because Wade is now an integral part of the power structure until further notice, the question of his replacement in the opposition by a charismatic figure is going to present itself. Landing Savane has set a date by placing himself at the head of a merger of three parties. And it is not out of the question that other candidates will emerge or that certain politicians who were waiting in vain to be placed back in the saddle will finally decide to "leave the orbit" of their respective party apparatuses and take their chances. Those individuals may emerge from the ranks of both the Socialist Party and the opposition.

Alongside those major movements, of course, there are the ordinary people who are changing sides and engaging in other pathetic practices in order to feather their own nest—let us call this the tectonics of cushy jobs. Naturally, these people do not hesitate to describe as political purebreds men whom they previously accused of being jackasses of the lowest order.

*** And Jef Offers To Be Alternative to PDS**

91AF1128E Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
19-25 Apr 91 p 6

[Article by Seydou Sall: "Objective: Power"; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] Following the departure of its "false friends," the Left is putting itself back together and redefining its ambitions.

Now that the PDS [Senegalese Socialist Party] and the PIT [Party for Independence and Labor] have joined the new government, the opposition is putting itself back together. For instance, it has scheduled press conferences and other public meetings to mobilize militants and sympathizers who are at a loss following the recent changes. Agendas are therefore full, as witness And Jef's scheduled rally in Mazout Park on 20 April following its public meeting at the Relais on 13 April. The topic of that meeting was "Crisis in Senegal: What Alternative?"

"The Diouf regime is doomed, hence the growing number of crises, and it is up to our generation to bring the regime down. Change is on the way, and no force can stop it." That excerpt from Landing Savane's opening speech sums up the meeting in question, which was presided over by And Jef's leader. The meeting was being held at a particular moment marked by the political restructuring that has made it possible to restore the office of prime minister and to enlarge the presidential majority. In the opinion of And Jef's secretary general, such a step would have had a favorable effect had it been taken in 1981. On the other hand, it has no value in 1991 because enlargement of the presidential majority confirms the "government's failure." That, he said, is why "we find it very hard to accept the haste with which certain political parties are joining the exploiting class." What the PDS and PIT have done is ratify a real "fool's bargain." Special honor was therefore due the LD [Democratic League], whose refusal to join the coalition government was hailed.

The criticism by And Jef's leader was favorably received by Mbaye Diack of the LD, who said that the moves by President Abdou Diouf were not sincere. He explained that his party could not go along with them because the temptation to power does not exist within it. Mbaye Diack emphasized: "The Senegalese are fed up with groups that are formed and dissolved in a shameful fashion." Since the most recent example was Conacpo [National Conference of Opposition Party Leaders], he drew attention to the need to review its performance before moving in a new direction.

Amadou Guiro of the OST [Workers Socialist Organization] emphasized the new approach being taken by the PDS: "One cannot stir up the population on the question of legitimacy in our country and then suddenly go back on what one has said." Bamba Ndiaye of the MSU [Movement for Socialism and Unity] denounced the monopolization of the state-owned media, in which the PDS and the PIT are going to participate.

A new political configuration is taking shape, and it will be accompanied by epic battles being promised by the Senegalese Left. Provided only that the Senegalese people can make sense of it and see some advantage to it.

Sierra Leone

West African Force Captures Key Rebel Base

AB2206081891 Paris AFP in English 0246 GMT
22 Jun 91

[Text] Freetown, June 21 (AFP)—A West African force made up of Guinean, Sierra Leonean and Nigerian troops on Friday captured one of the main bases of the Liberian rebels who have crossed the border into Sierra Leone, a military spokesman said here.

He said the six-hour battle, which left "hundreds of rebels dead or wounded," had taken place in the southern town of Pujehun, which lies in the middle of one of Sierra Leone's main food-producing regions.

There has been no word on casualties among the West African troops. It was the first time the Nigerian contingent had gone into action since it was deployed in Sierra Leone nearly eight weeks ago.

The Sierra Leone Government has accused the rebels of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia of crossing over the country's eastern border and attacking local towns since March 23.

Meanwhile the Sierra Leone official in charge of looking after people displaced by the fighting, Bockari Kondolomo, said that some 120,000 inhabitants of the country had fled into Guinea, another neighbouring state, as a result of the Liberian rebel attacks. Mr. Kondolomo who had just returned from a fact-finding tour of refugee camps in Guinea said that the Sierra Leoneans had been resettled in eight towns there. He said that there had been "few deaths" among the refugees.

Minister Cites Lack of Change for Resignation

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[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Certainly one Sierra Leone Government minister is unhappy if not with the way President Joseph Momoh is running the country, then at least with the way he is running the ruling party. Social Services Minister Alhaji Musa Kabia stood down last week, and he has held a press conference today in Freetown to give the reasons for his resignation. From Freetown, Christer Johnson telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Alhaji Musa Kabia told the press that he had resigned from the Cabinet and the Central Committee of the APC [All People's Congress] party because of what he described as a lack of effective organization within the party and their failure to reorganize themselves. He said that the APC party had promised last August to institute changes within their ranks before the arrival of multipartyism [as heard] in

Sierra Leone. He said despite the promises nothing had been done. For that reason, he said, I have no alternative but to resign.

When Alhaji Musa Kabia was asked by newsmen whether he would set up a party of his own, he said: I cannot rule that out. For the time being, he said, he would serve his constituency as a normal member of parliament. He said he disagreed with certain clauses of

the constitutional bill before parliament, saying that it was recipe for chaos after the forthcoming general elections.

Meanwhile, a weekly newspaper, PROGRESS, published over the weekend, claimed that more ministers and MPs [Members of Parliament] would be resigning soon. The paper quoted a minister as saying: Musa Kabia has started the ball rolling in what may become a mass exodus of MPs and cabinet ministers. [end recording]

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